AN EPITOME OF HISTORY;

OR,

A CONCISE VIEW

OF THE

Most Important Revolutions and Events,

Which are recorded in the

HISTORIES OF THE PRINCIPAL EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, STATES, AND REPUBLICS,

NOW SUBSISTING IN THE WORLD:

ALSO THEIR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT;

Accompanied with short Accounts of the different RELIGIONS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By JOHN PAYNE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Quidquid delirunt Reges, plectuntur Achivi.
HOR.

LONDON:

Printed for J. JOHNSON, St. Paul's Church Yard;

AND

BERRY, ROGERS, and BERRY, Hanover Square, New York.

1795.

[Price Seven Shillings unbound.]

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ERRATA in the SECOND VOLUME.

Page 128. line 12. *for* them, *read* themselves.
209. - 11. *for* Howell, *read* Holwell.
255. - 16. *for* ſtrength, *read* ſpread.
259. - 27. *for* prevailed, *read* prevailing
277. laſt line but one, *for* new, *read* newly.
428. lines 3. and 4. *for* procure him only 200 labourers and artificers to embark with, *read* procure only 200 labourers and artificers to embark with him.
429. lines 17. and 26. *for* Pedrarius, *read* Pedrarias.
434. line 11. *for* Eſtramaduſa, *read* Eſtramadura.
459. - 4. *for* aſyum, *read* aſylum.
474. - 18. *for* Diago, *read* Diego.
492. - 15. *for* ſon, *read* ſun.

AN

EPITOME OF HISTORY.

CHAP I.

JAPAN.

THE empire of Japan is called by the natives Niphon, which ſignifies the foundation of the ſun; the largeſt iſland giving its name to the two ſmaller ones which belong to it. By the Chineſe this country is called Zippon, or Siphon.

Theſe three iſlands lie at the eaſtern extremity of Aſia, in the ſame parallel of latitude with the northern part of China, and extend from S. to N. about 9 degrees of latitude, or from 31 degrees to 40. Their extent from W. to E. is about 12 degrees, or from 129 degrees to 141. Kæmpfer obſerves, that the empire of Japan may, in many reſpects, be compared to the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, being much after the ſame manner, though in a more eminent degree, divided and broken through by forelands, arms of the ſea, great bays and inlets, running deep into the country, and forming many

ſmall iſlands, peninſulas, gulfs, and harbours.—Beſide, as the king of Great Britain is ſovereign of three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland; ſo likewiſe, he adds, the Japaneſe emperor hath the ſupreme juriſdiction over three iſlands. The firſt and largeſt, called Niphon, runs lengthways, from E. to W. in the form of a jaw-bone, whoſe crooked part is turned to the N. A narrow channel or ſtrait, full of rocks and iſlands, ſome inhabited, ſome uninhabited, parts it from the ſecond, which is next to it in ſize: and from its lying to the S. W. of Niphon, is called Saikokf, or the Weſtern Country; and is about 592 Engliſh miles in circumference. The third iſland is ſituated between the firſt and ſecond, and is nearly of a ſquare figure, and, from its being divided into four provinces, the Japaneſe call it Sikokf, or the Country of Four. Theſe three large iſlands are encompaſſed by an inconceivable number of others, ſome of which are ſmall, rocky, and barren; others larger, rich, fruitful; and ſo populous as to be governed by petty princes.

The government and religion of the Japaneſe are ſo cloſely connected with their pretended origin, that it is impoſſible to ſeparate them. Theſe people are highly offended at the ſuppoſition of their being deſcended from the Chineſe, or any other nation; for they aſſert that they aroſe within the compaſs of their own empire, and eſteem themſelves the offſpring of their gods, who, during an inconceivable number of ages, governed that empire, in a regular ſucceſſion

succession from father to son. Of these gods they imagine there were two races; the first perfectly divine; and the last, which descended from the former, partly divine, and partly human. But who were the subjects of these imaginary deities, they do not presume to determine; for they imagine that the present inhabitants were descended from Awase Dsu No Mikotto, the last of this second race; and that their original ancestors were all of them his children by his wife the goddess Isarami Nomikotto. Thus, though they trace their original, as descended from the gods, even higher than the Chinese (for each of these imaginary deities reigned during a long succession of ages), yet they date the origin of the present inhabitants so late as about 600 years before Christ, when the genuine history of Japan begins with the reign of Sin Mu Ten Oo, the elder son of Awase Dsu No Mikotto. To the dairi, or ecclesiastical hereditary emperors, who were said to descend in a direct line from the eldest branch of their fabulous ancestors, the people attributed an almost divine power, and an unlimited authority over their fellow-creatures; while these emperors, proud of their illustrious and divine extraction, assumed a superstitious holiness, supported by the utmost pomp and magnificence. As they were respected as gods, they thought it beneath their dignity to trouble themselves with the management of political affairs; these therefore they left to the laity. In consequence of this, the power of the nobility increased; and those

princes of the empire not only made themselves sovereign and independent in the provinces committed to their government, but quarrelling among themselves, attempted by force to dispossess each other of their dominions. Hence were produced all the train of evils which spring from ambition, jealousy, rancorous hate, and the thirst of revenge.

At length, in order to stop the defection and check the ambition of the princes of the empire, the crown-general was sent against them at the head of the imperial army. The important post of commander in chief was commonly intrusted to one of the emperor's sons, and in course of time this post gave rise to the secular monarchy: for about 500 years ago, Joritomo, the crown-general, being disappointed in his hopes of succeeding to the imperial throne, assumed the sovereignty in secular affairs; and is therefore mentioned in the history of Japan as the first secular sovereign. The power of the ecclesiastical monarch was, however, still very great; and he retained the privilege of nominating the person who should succeed to the secular authority; but, in the sixteenth century, the person who at that time held this great office made himself absolute in the secular government of the empire. He was the dairi's second son; and the laws of primogeniture depriving him of the hope to attain absolute authority from hereditary or divine right, he availed himself of the military force of the country, which he held under his control, to

wrest from the emperor, his father, all authority over secular affairs. But the functions which he had thus assumed he did not quietly exercise, for several of the powerful princes of the empire contended for their wonted independence; till at length, in the year 1583, a common soldier, named Taico, or Tayckoy, a man of an obscure birth, but of a bold and daring spirit, assisted by strong natural talents, obtained the crown. At first, indeed, he had only fifty soldiers, who were of intrepid courage; but their number soon increased to a numerous army, and he carried on his conquests with great celerity and uninterrupted success: so that in a few years he subdued all the petty princes, took their cities and castles, seated himself on the imperial throne, and the dairi, or ecclesiastical emperor, was compelled to yield him the entire possession of the secular government; while he, sensible how dangerous the attempt would be to combat those deeply-rooted prejudices which both the military and the people at large cherished in favour of their ancient monarchs and high priests, readily acknowledged him to be supreme in spirituals, and to enjoy those high honours and prerogatives which had ever been inseparable from his office. To reduce the pride of the nobility, and hold them in subjection, he obliged them to bring their wives and families to his court at Jedo, where they were to remain as hostages of their fidelity whilst they resided on their governments, and they themselves were required to attend him six

months in the year, and annually to renew their oath of fidelity.

This great revolution was completed in the year 1617. His ſon Tayckoſſama was a minor at the time of his father's death; he was murdered by the prince who had been appointed by Tackroy regent during the minority. By this murder the crown paſſed to the family of Jejaſſama, in which it ſtill continues. Taico and his ſucceſſors contented themſelves with the title of cubo, which under the dairi was that of prime miniſter.

Incredible ſtories are told of the prowefs of the Japaneſe. When the Tartars firſt invaded Japan, which is ſaid to have been in the year 799, the whole force which embarked on the expedition was deſtroyed, not a man eſcaping. A ſtill more ſurpriſing event is told in the Japaneſe hiſtory, when the Tartars again invaded Japan in 1281, having 240,000 men in arms, the whole of which force is ſaid to have been extirpated. Dr. Thunberg aſſerts that the Japaneſe have never been ſubdued by any foreign power at any period of time.—But to return to the reign of Taico, or Tackroy, after the revolution which he had effected.

The ambition of the princes of the empire being thus curbed, and their power broken, Taico proceeded to ſecure the new-modelled government from the ſeditious rage of the licentious vulgar by a new ſyſtem of laws; which were perhaps the moſt ſevere that ever were enacted ſince the days

days of Draco, and like them may be ſaid to be written with blood: for there is ſcarcely a crime that is not publicly puniſhed with death; except the criminal be a prince, and then he has only the privilege of diſpatching himſelf in private, which is commonly done by ripping up his own bowels. In this caſe the emperor ſends his order by letter, which if not immediately complied with, the perſon is either put to the moſt excruciating tortures, or, if he be a prince of the royal blood, baniſhed to ſome barren iſland, where he is perhaps forced to lead a life more ſevere and painful than death itſelf. But in other caſes the criminal is no ſooner found guilty than he is hurried to execution. Kempher aſſerts that a lie, or prevarication; theft, though of the ſlighteſt kind; a breach of the peace; a blow with a ſword, even though ſheathed in the ſcabbard; cheating, even at play; detraction, or any other injury done to a man's character, are all puniſhed with death: for mere chaſtiſements are ſeldom uſed but by the lords to their ſlaves. In ſome provinces fathers of families, except thoſe of the lower rank, have power over the lives and limbs of their wives, children, and domeſtics. But in crimes againſt the government, as, neglecting to obey the emperor's edicts, defrauding him in his revenue, counterfeiting the coin, ſetting a houſe on fire, robberies, burglaries, debauching a married woman, or raviſhing an unmarried one; injuſtice or mal-adminiſtration in public officers, whether in go-

 vernors,

vernors, judges, or magiſtrates, the puniſhment is not confined to the criminals, but inhumanly extended to his parents, brethren, children, and more diſtant relations; all of whom are put to death at the ſame hour, though at ever ſo great a diſtance from each other. This is done by reſpiting the execution of thoſe who are near, till the ſentence can be conveyed by proper couriers to the other places; and then, on the appointed time, all are brought forth, and executed at mid-day; but the lives of the female relations are generally ſaved, and they are ſold to ſlavery, for a longer or ſhorter term of years, according to the nearneſs of their relationſhip to the offender; except in caſes of high-treaſon, where the wives and daughters are put to death. For thefts and robberies, the unhappy criminals are crucified with the head downward, and conſigned to a longer or ſhorter torture, according to the degree of their criminality: ſo that in caſes of aggravated guilt, they are left to hang on the croſs till they expire, which in ſome inſtances is not in a ſhorter time than three or four days: but if the theft admits of a milder death, they are diſpatched by a dagger, or by ſtrangling. In caſes of high-treaſon, not only all the relations, but the whole ward in which they live, undergo the ſame dreadful fate; the law ſuppoſing them to be worthy of death for ſuffering ſuch enemies to ſociety to live among them. This cruel puniſhment of the innocent is an effectual means of cauſing the crimi-

nal

nal, when known, to be immediately discovered since the informer not only saves himself, but his whole family.

These laws, contrary as they are to every sentiment of equity and humanity, are said to be still in force, and executed with the greatest rigour; but criminals, as soon as they find they are discovered, frequently commit an act of suicide, to escape the tortures which await them.

As a farther security to the new established government, and the safety of the empire, Taico enacted, that the empire should be rendered inaccessible for ever, and thoroughly purged from foreigners and foreign customs. No foreigners had so firm a footing in the empire as the Portuguese, who first discovered the country in the year 1543; when, induced by the prospect of gain, they made large settlements in Japan. Their foreign commodities, with the doctrine taught by the missionaries, by which it is said they gained over one-third of the people, and even several of the princes of the empire, and the marriages contracted between them and the new converts, so ingratiated them into the favour of the nation, that, flushed with their success, they projected a revolution in the government.

In the year 1582, several princes of the empire sent some of their nearest relations, with letters and presents, for the express purpose of paying homage to Gregory XIII. who then filled the Papal chair. A cir-

A circumstantial account of this embassy is given by Thuanus. *Lib. LXXXI. Sect.* 25. *Ed. Lond.* 1733. *Tom. IV.*

Two letters, written by the Portuguese, one of which was intercepted by the Dutch, laid open their treacherous designs. The Dutch, who were then at war with Portugal, seized this opportunity of discovering their treason, in hopes of gaining this profitable branch of trade to themselves. Other considerations concurred to excite in the Japanese an implacable hatred toward their European guests. Their priests could not, without the utmost discontent and resentment, see their old religion, with all its powerful attractives of profit and popular esteem, daily losing ground; and strong representations were made at court by one of the chief counsellors of state, who being met on the road by a Jesuit bishop, the haughty prelate refused to pay him the same deference and respect which he was accustomed to receive from the natives. The excessive profits the Portuguese received, and the immense treasures they sent out of the country, also alarmed the government, while the rapid progress made by the new religion, the union of the converts, and the hatred they bore to the gods and religion of the country, filled the emperor and his court with dreadful apprehensions.

Taico, the emperor, therefore began to put a stop to the increase of the Portuguese interest, and the propagation of their religion; he however made a slow

ſlow progreſs, and left the work to be finiſhed by his ſucceſſors, who placed him among the gods, by the name of the Second Fatzman, or Mars of the country. The Portugueſe, with their clergy and Japaneſe kindred, were ordered to depart the country, under the penalty of ſuffering death by crucifixion; all the other Japaneſe were commanded to remain in the kingdom; thoſe who were actually abroad were to return within a certain limited time, after which they ſhould, if taken, be liable to the ſame puniſhment; and thoſe who had embraced the new religion were commanded to forſake it. Theſe orders were the beginning of a moſt dreadful perſecution; for the new converts being unmoved by the weak reaſons that were urged againſt their faith, the ſword, the halter, the croſs, and the flames, were barbarouſly and vainly made uſe of to compel them to retract their opinions and change their conduct, inſtead of argument to convince their underſtandings, and to render them ſenſible of their error. Yet death, in all theſe various forms, was far from ſhaking their fortitude; for they bravely ſealed their faith with their blood, and ſhewed ſuch amazing examples of conſtancy, that their enemies were filled with ſurpriſe and admiration. According to the letters of the Jeſuits 20,570 perſons ſuffered death for the faith of Chriſt in the year 1590 only. This cruel perſecution, which exceeded every thing of the kind mentioned in hiſtory, laſted about forty years, when at laſt all the remains of Chriſtianity in Japan

Japan were exterminated in one day; for upward of 37,000 Christians, being reduced to despair at beholding the insufferable torments endured by their brethren, took up arms, and got possession of the castle of Simabara, seated upon the sea-coast, with a firm resolution of defending their lives to the utmost extremity; but, after a siege of three months, the castle was taken, on the 12th of April, 1638, and all who remained alive were cruelly butchered. Thus was Christianity suppressed in the Japanese empire, by the extermination of the Christians, and that country rendered impassable to the natives, and inaccessible to foreigners. The Portuguese at Macao afterward send thither a splendid embassy; but although the law of nations, and the practice of every civilized community, in conformity to that law, render the persons of ambassadors inviolate, yet, in this instance, the ambassadors, and their whole retinue, to the number of 61 persons, were beheaded, by the special command of the emperor, except a few of their meanest servants, who were saved, that they might carry to their countrymen the tidings of this butchery.

The Dutch, allured by the advantageous trade of the Portuguese, first landed in Japan about the year 1600, where they met with all possible opposition, and every ill office, from their European rival in commerce. Portugal was then subject to the king of Spain, with whom the Dutch were at war; and this war was rekindled before the Dutch discovered the designs of the Portuguese against the government

ment of Japan, and then they assisted the Japanese, as hath been already mentioned, in driving out their insidious rivals, and afterward in exterminating the Romish religion out of that empire. After these events, which, however unchristian, shewed them to be the friends, or at least the tools of the Japanese, they enjoyed considerable privileges; till, having built a factory and warehouse of hewn-stone, stronger, more lofty, and more extensive than the buildings of that country, while they were unlading one of their ships into their capacious warehouse, it is said, the bottom of a large box started, and, instead of merchandize, a brass mortar fell out. The Japanese government, ever watchful for the safety of the state, were alarmed, and the Dutch received immediate orders, under pain of death, to demolish all their buildings, and remove from the port of Firando, where they were then established, to the little island Desima; which may properly enough be called the Dutch prison in Japan.

Within the small compass of this island the Dutch are confined and guarded. Their ships, which annually put into the harbour, undergo a close examination by the Japanese, before they have leave to land their men, and to refresh them there during their stay, which is commonly two or three months. On their setting sail the Dutch resident, with seven or eight men, or more, if he thinks proper, remain on the island; where, to prevent a contraband trade, the Japanese not only take an exact inventory of all the

the goods and commodities, but secure them under their own locks and seals. Even the cloths and stuffs brought over for their own use, must be delivered into the custody of the ottona, till one of their own taylors cuts them out, allowing each as much cloth as will furnish a good suit.

After the departure of the ships, the Dutch resident sets out with a numerous retinue to pay his respects to the emperor, and make the usual annual presents; but they are attended with a train of guards and inspectors, as if they were the open enemies of the state. The resident and his companions appear before the emperor crawling on their hands and knees, and as they approach bow their heads to the floor, and then crawl backward. They are sometimes ordered to rise and dance for the diversion of the ladies of the court, and other spectators, who are concealed behind screens; and also to sing, to laugh, to converse, and exhibit various acts of buffoonery, to which they readily submit: such influence has the love of gold, that they pay an abject and servile obedience to all these ridiculous commands. However, in other respects, they are treated and entertained by the emperor and his court in a very obliging manner; and at their departure presented with silk gloves, in return for their presents to the emperor and great officers of state.

Upon a few other occasions they are also suffered to leave the island; but they can never do it without a numerous retinue of those who are to watch their

conduct.

conduct; with this mortifying circumstance, that they are obliged, at a great expence, to pay those who guard them as prisoners.

The Dutch send but two ships annually, which are fitted out at Batavia, and are expected to arrive at Desima in the month of September, toward the latter end of the S. W. monsoon, which alone is proper for this navigation. The spy-guards, placed on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, no sooner discover with their glasses one of these ships steering toward the harbour, than they send notice of her approach to the governor of Nagasaki, when three persons of the factory are sent with the usual attendants to meet her about two miles without the harbour, to deliver to the captain the necessary instructions from the resident, or director of trade, with regard to his behaviour; and at the same time the interpreter and governor's deputies demand a list of the cargo and crew, with the letters on board; which last being carried to Nagasaki, are first examined by the governor, and then delivered to the director. The ship follows as soon as possible, and having saluted every imperial guard, casts anchor at about a musket-shot from the island. Two guard-boats immediately board her, and mount guard; while a number of officers also coming on board, demand all the guns, cutlasses, swords, and powder, which are taken away, and kept in a store-house built for that purpose, till their departure: but they do

do not now, as they did formerly, take away the rudder of the ship. The next day the commissioners of the governors, with their attendants of subordinate officers, interpreters, and soldiers, enter the ship, and take an exact view of all the people who belong to the Dutch on board, according to the list that had been given them, in which is set down every one's name, age, place of residence, and office.

It has been confidently asserted, that the Dutch here deny that they are Christians; and as a proof of their not being of that religion, they, on their first landing, trample a crucifix under their feet: but Kæmpfer asserts, that this is an unjust calumny, and maintains that they freely own their being Christians; but justly maintain, that their sentiments are very different from those of the Portuguese. There is, however, a ceremony of this kind very strictly required to be performed by the natives of both sexes and all ages. At the beginning of the year, images about a foot high, cast of copper, representing the cross, and the Virgin Mary with her child, are brought forth in many parts of the empire, particularly at Nagasaki, where Christianity principally prevailed. On this occasion, every person, except the governor and his attendants, even the smallest child, must be present. Overseers are appointed at every place, and the inhabitants are collected together in certain houses; the name of every one being called over. Even children unable to walk have their

their feet placed upon the images; all others are required to paſs over them from one ſide of the room to the other.

The time for unloading the ſhips being arrived, the water-gates of the iſland are opened in the preſence of the commiſſioners appointed by the governors and their retinue, while every corner of the veſſel is crowded with Japaneſe officers, to ſee that nothing be taken away privately. The goods are brought from the ſhips in ſmall boats, and placed before the commiſſioners, who take an inventory of them in writing, compare them with the liſts that have been given them, open a bale or two of each ſort, and then order them to be locked up in the company's warehouſes, till the time of ſale. The cheſts of private perſons are alſo examined; and if the owner does not immediately appear with the key, they proceed to open them with axes. No European coin, or any other foreign money, neither any thing that has the figure of a croſs, ſaint, or beads, would be ſuffered to paſs: for if any thing like theſe ſhould be found, it would occaſion as much conſternation and apprehenſion among the Japaneſe, as if the well-being of the empire was at ſtake. Hence it is cuſtomary for the captain of every ſhip, upon drawing near the harbour, to oblige all on board to deliver their money, prayer-books, and other devotional or religious books, to him, that he may pack them up in an old caſk, concealed from the natives.

All who are desirous to go on board, whether for their own private business, or on the company's concerns, are obliged to take out a pass-board from the commissioners at the water-gates, to those in the ship; and when any one returns, he must take another from the latter: by which means the number of people on board the ship or on shore is always known. A pass-board is a piece of wood, on one side of which is some writing, and on the other a stamp made by a hot iron.

Before the commissioners in the ship return at night with their retinue to Nagasaki, the cabin is sealed up in their presence, and all the Dutchmen carefully counted over to see that none be wanting, which would occasion great confusion. It once happened that a sailor fell overboard in the night unobserved, and at the review next morning he was missed. Suddenly all proceedings were stopped, and the fear least it should be a Romish priest, who had made his escape into the country, filled the Japanese with such consternation, that all the officers appeared like men frantic; and some of the soldiers in the guardships, which always surround those of the Dutch, were already preparing to rip open their bellies, to prevent their being compelled, by an ignominious death, to atone for their neglect; when the man's body being seen floating in the sea, their fears were dissipated, and the fatal consequences which would otherwise have ensued were prevented.

Wh...

When the ſhips are either loading or unloading, the water-gates are ſhut, by which means all communication is cut off between thoſe who are on board, and thoſe who remain on ſhore. The whole cargo of the ſhips being depoſited in the warehouſes, the goods are diſpoſed of in the courſe of two or three days; and if any thing remains unſold, it is kept in the warehouſes till the next year's ſale.

The Dutch ſend to Japan raw ſilk from China, Tonquin, Bengal, and Perſia; wove ſilks and other ſtuffs (provided they are not wrought with gold or ſilver) from the above-mentioned and ſome other countries; woollen cloth and ſtuffs from Europe, among which are Engliſh ſerges; braſil-wood; buffalo and deer ſkins, ray-ſkins, wax, and buffalo-horns, from Siam and Cambodia; cardowans and tanned hides from Perſia and Bengal; pepper, powdered ſugar, ſugar-candy, cloves, and nutmegs, from Amboyna and Banda; white ſandal from Timor; camphire from Borneo and Sumatra; quickſilver, ſaffron, and cinnabar, from Bengal; muſk from Tonquin; gum-lacca from Siam; coral, amber, antimony, which they uſe in colouring their porcelain, and looking-glaſſes, from Europe; the looking-glaſſes they reduce to ſmall pieces, and make of them perſpective-glaſſes, ſpectacles, and magnifying-glaſſes: pickled mangoes and other pickled fruit, black lead and red pencils, ſublimate mercury, files, needles, ſpectacles, large drinking-glaſſes of the

fineſt ſort, counterfeit corals, ſtrange birds, and other foreign curioſities, both natural and artificial.

In return, the Dutch bring from Japan a very great quantity of refined copper, ſome of a coarſer ſort; Japaneſe camphire, ſome hundred cheſts of china-ware; all ſorts of japanned cabinets, boxes, cheſts of drawers, and the like, the beſt that can be procured; umbrellas, ſkreens, and hanging-paper; rice, tea, pickled fruits, marmalades, and a great deal of gold, the coin of the country.

The Dutch once made vaſt profits by this trade; but the Japaneſe government has ſo lowered the prices of imported goods, and advanced the value of their own, that the merchants do not at preſent gain above one-third of their former profits.

The Chineſe, to this day, carry on a commercial intercourſe with the Japaneſe.

About the year 1663, the Engliſh attempted to open a traffic with Japan, but the Dutch, dreading ſuch a rivalſhip, took the moſt effectual method to alienate the minds of the Japaneſe from theſe new European merchants, by informing them, that the king of that country, Charles II. had married a daughter of the king of Portugal. Since that time the Engliſh have entirely given up all trade directly with Japan.

In the third voyage of diſcovery by Captain Cook, in which he unfortunately periſhed, and his ſucceſſor Captain Clerk died, Captain Gore became the conductor of the expedition. On his re-

turn

turn home, he came within six or seven miles of the eastern coast of Japan, but the weather being tempestuous, the coast known only by a Dutch chart, published by Jansen in his Atlas, and Kæmpfer having described it as the most dangerous coast in the world; the natives too being known to be abhorrent to strangers; he therefore did not think it prudent to attempt to land; the sails and cordage of of the ships being also in a very decayed condition. Some Japanese vessels bore down toward the ships, one of which came within the distance of about half a mile. The narrative says, "It would have been easy to have spoken with this vessel, but as the manœuvres of the Japanese testified that they were much alarmed, Captain Gore was not willing to augment their terror, and concluding that he should have better opportunities of communication with these people, suffered them to go off without interruption." *Cook's Third Voyage*, III. 401. No such opportunity however presented itself whilst the ships continued on the coast.

Mons. Pages, who made the circuit of the globe in a very uncommon manner of travelling, relates, in the account which he has published of that voyage (Vol. I. p. 231, Lausanne Edition), that some time since [he travelled in the year 1761] the Manillans sent deputies and presents to Japan, with proffers of friendship and proposals of forming a commercial intercourse, founded upon such principles as should be mutually beneficial. The Japanese received the

 deputies

deputies very kindly, accepted their prefents, and made them others in return of much higher value, but abfolutely rejected all connections, whether commercial or political, however beneficial or alluring the terms might be.

Having now fpoken of the nature of the foreign trade carried on at Japan, we fhall refume the account of its interior hiftory and government.

At prefent the emperors of Japan are as defpotic as any of the dairi ever were. It has been already obferved, that as the emperor has a great number of petty princes and nobles, who have abfolute power in their feveral governments, the greateft care is taken to keep them in due fubjection. Of thefe twenty-one bear the title of kings, fix are princes, four are dukes, feventeen are counts, and forty-one are lords, or fomething equivalent to thefe dignities, befide a great number of noblemen of inferior rank. The emperor's council confifts of the former, who are obliged to attend in their turns, and have always four of the kingly dignity at their head. The emperor's ftanding forces, including garrifons, &c. confift of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horfe; but in time of war each of the governors of the provinces is obliged to bring into the field a body of horfe and foot completely armed, proportionable to the extent of his province, or to the penfion he receives from the emperor; which, in the whole, amount to 368,000 foot, and 38,000 horfe. Their weapons are fire-arms, javelins, bows and arrows, fabres and daggers.

The

The cavalry wear cuiraſſes, and the foot helmets, finely wrought.

From what has been before obſerved, the reader may form ſome idea of the numerous court of this monarch in his capital, ſince it muſt conſiſt of one half of the princes and nobility of the empire, together with all their families, beſide his own officers and guards, which generally amount to about 5 or 6,000 men. He has, as we have already obſerved, many palaces magnificently built and furniſhed, in which the royal apartments, halls of audience, &c. are enriched with every thing curious and coſtly in art or nature. The ceilings are generally plated with gold, finely wrought, and embelliſhed with precious ſtones; and the beds, ſcreens, and cabinets, with the gardens, walks, ponds, fountains, terraces, groves, and ſummer-houſes, are anſwerable to the grandeur of the place. But of all the royal palaces, that of Jedo is the largeſt and nobleſt: the reſt, though grand and ſumptuous, are uſed as houſes of pleaſure, for his diverſion in hunting, fiſhing, and other recreations.

To this time the emperors allow the dairi to be treated with the ſame profound veneration that was formerly paid him in ancient times: for though he has loſt the greateſt branch of his power, and is only head over all religious matters, while the emperor enjoys not only the imperial dignity, but the government both in civil and military affairs, yet he is allowed to preſerve his priſtine grandeur. He is not ſuffered to ſet his foot on the

ground, and wherever he goes, is carried on men's shoulders. He is kept so retired, that the sun is not thought worthy to shine on his head, or the wind to blow upon him. He never wears the same clothes above one day, or eats above once out of the same dishes, all the vessels and utensils of his table being new every day; but these, though very clean and neat, are made only of common clay, and are generally broken; for they imagine, that if any layman should presume to eat his food out of those sacred dishes, it would swell and inflame his mouth and throat. He is addressed in pompous titles little short of blasphemy; and all, except the emperor, when they speak to him in public, prostrate themselves flat on the ground; beside, as every thing belonging to his person is esteemed sacred, he never shaves his beard, cuts his hair, or pares his nails. He is chiefly served by his twelve wives, whom he marries with great solemnity; and, like the other monarchs of the east, keeps them as much as possible concealed. Upon the decease of the dairi, the ministry of that ecclesiastical court choose for his successor the next heir, without regard to age or sex; hence it has often happened, that a prince under age, or a young unmarried princess, has ascended the throne; and there are instances where the deceased dairi's relict has succeeded her husband.

The secular emperor now grants the necessary subsidies for the maintenance of the dairi and his ecclesiastical court. For this purpose the dairi is allowed the whole revenue of the city of Miaco; and that being

being insufficient to defray his expences, it has been agreed to make up the deficiencies out of the emperor's treasury: but these allowances are so small, and so indifferently paid, that the court cannot make the figure which it formerly did, when the dairi himself was master of the empire, and had all the revenues at his own disposal. It still, however, endeavours to keep up its former grandeur and magnificence; and this court may be truly said to be remarkable for a splendid poverty. The grandees run in debt; and the inferior officers and servants, whose salaries are far from being sufficient to maintain them, are compelled to work for their living: but though the revenues of the dairi are small in comparison of what they were formerly, yet, as he has the management of them, he takes care to provide whatever is necessary to maintain, as much as possible, his former splendour, luxury, and profusion; which he is in some measure enabled to do, by still enjoying the high privilege of bestowing titles of honour on the great men of the empire, their children and relations, which brings in vast treasures. Among his twelve wives, she who is the mother of the hereditary prince, or princess, has the title of empress: but it would take up too much room were we here to describe the pompous ceremonies observed in his marriages, upon the birth of an heir to the crown, and on choosing a nurse for the royal infant: these are so magnificent, that the welfare and happiness of the whole empire might be thought to depend on these events.

All

All who belong to the dairi's court are clothed after a particular manner, and their habits are very different from those of secular princes, whom they scorn and despise, as descending from a mean and unholy extraction. They wear long wide drawers, and a large gown with a sweeping train, which they trail after them on the ground. Their heads are covered with a black lackered cap, by the shape of which, among other marks of distinction, their degree of rank is known, as well as what post they enjoy. Some have a large band of black silk or crape sewed to their caps, which either hangs down behind their shoulders, or is tied up. Others have a kind of flap, like a fan, standing out before their eyes. Some have a sort of scarf hanging down before from their shoulders, the length of which differs according to the quality of the wearer; for it is the custom of this court, that nobody bows lower than just to touch the floor with the end of his scarf. The dress of the women of this court is also different from that of secular women; particularly the dairi's twelve wives, who, when full dressed, are so loaded with large wide gowns of silk, interwoven with flowers of gold and silver, that they are quite embarrassed in walking.

An application to different kinds of learning form the chief amusement of the dairi's court; and not only the courtiers, but many of the fair sex, have acquired great reputation by their poetical, historical, and other writings. All the almanacks were formerly made there; but though this is not

now

how the case, they must receive the approbation of the court. Here a taste for music prevails, and the women in particular play with great dexterity on all the musical instruments they are acquainted with; the young noblemen also divert themselves by riding, running races, dancing, and other exercises. The Japanese lay claim to the invention of gun-powder; they greatly excel the Chinese in the use of fire-arms, and are good engineers. Their ingenuity and skill are likewise eminently displayed in their fire-works.

When the dairi was sole master of the country, he honoured with his sacred presence whatever city he pleased; and it seldom happened that two succeeding emperors chose the same place of residence. The dairi's court is now fixed at Miaco, where he has a large and spacious palace, which is distinguished by a lofty and magnificent tower. His imperial consort lives with him in the same palace, and the palaces of his other wives are situated next to his. At a small distance are the houses of the lords whose offices require a constant and more immediate attendance on his person; there are also a number of other palaces and streets, divided among the officers belonging to the court according to their rank, all of which are separated from Miaco, and defended against sudden approach of an enemy by walls, gates, ditches, and ramparts. The secular monarch constantly keeps a strong guard of soldiers at the dairi's court, in appearance out of tenderness and care for the preservation and safety of his sacred person and

family;

family; but, doubtless, with a view to prevent all attempts for the recovery of the supreme authority.

Every imperial city is committed to the care of two governors; Nagasaki alone has three. These have the command of the city by turns, each generally for the space of two years. When that time is expired, the presiding governor delivers up his power and his apartment in the palace to his successor, and immediately sets out for Jedo, to make the usual presents, and give an account of the most material transactions in his government. He continues at Jedo about six months, during which time he is permitted to live with his family: but as soon as he receives orders from the council of state to repair to his last government, or to any other, he must depart, leaving his wife and children at Jedo till his return, in a manner as hostages for his fidelity: nay, while he is in his government, he is to admit no woman within the space of his residence, on pain of incurring the imperial displeasure; the fatal consequences of which are no less than imprisonment, banishment, or death, with the entire ruin of his family; it being esteemed beneath the majesty of the emperor to inflict slighter punishments on the least disregard shewn to his commands. The salary of each governor is but small; but his perquisites are so considerable, that in a few years he might amass great estates, but for the presents which must be made to the emperor and the grandees of his court; and being obliged to keep up all that state and grandeur which is thought becoming the dignity of

the

the employment, and the majesty of the supreme head.

Under the imperial governors are four magistrates, and their deputies. These magistrates hold their office a year; but they are obliged daily to communicate to the governor every thing that comes before them; and in difficult cases, or where they cannot agree among themselves, to lay the cause before the emperor's bench or court of justice, or, with the consent of that court, to leave it to the determination of the governor in the last resort. All civil affairs are brought before this imperial court of judicature, which, having examined the parties and their witnesses, gives judgment according to the laws of the empire, and their imperial orders and proclamations. From this court there is no appeal; but those who have received sentence of death cannot be executed without a warrant signed by the council of state at Jedo, which council must be also consulted in all affairs of great moment.

The deputies of the magistrates are next to them in authority, but enjoy their posts for life. It is one branch of their office to compose differences of small consequence, arising in that part of the town committed to their care.

Next to these are four officers, who enjoy their post only one year, and are appointed by the magistrates to make a faithful report in their name to the governor, of the daily transactions in the execution of their office; and being also a kind of representatives of the people, whose interest they are to pro-

mote

mote at the governor's court, they have a small room assigned them in his palace, where two of them constantly attend till the governor is at leisure to receive the messages they are to deliver in the name of the magistrates, or the petitions they present to him in the name of private persons.

The police and regulations observed in every street, in order to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the inhabitants, and to relieve the governors, magistrates, and other chief officers, in the discharge of their duty, are very strict. For these purposes the following officers are appointed for every street: the principal is the ottona, who gives the necessary orders in case of fire, sees that a regular watch be kept at night, and that the orders of the governors and magistrates be punctually executed. He keeps books, in which he registers marriages, the births of children, deaths, persons who travel, or remove out of the street; and the names, births, and trades, of such new inhabitants as settle in it. When slight differences arise between the inhabitants of his street, he summonses the parties before him, and, in conjunction with the deputies of the magistrates, endeavours, if possible, to reconcile them. He punishes small crimes by seizing the criminals, and putting them in irons. He causes criminals to be taken up by his own people within his district, and confines them till he receives farther orders from the superior magistrates, before whom he lays all criminal affairs and cases of moment; and is himself answerable for what accidents happen within the street under his in-

 spection.

ſpection: He is choſen by the inhabitants of that ſtreet from among themſelves, each of them writing upon a piece of paper the name of the perſon who is the object of his choice, adding his own name and ſeal. The votes are all taken in, the papers opened, and the names of the two who have moſt votes are laid before the governor, with the petition of the inhabitants that he would be pleaſed to nominate one of them as ottona.

Every ottona has three deputies, who give him their advice and aſſiſtance in the execution of his office.

The inhabitants of every ſtreet are divided into companies, from each of which five men are ſelected; there are ten or fifteen companies in every ſtreet: but though theſe are termed companies of five, a few more of the neighbours are frequently added, ſo that they ſometimes conſiſt of ten or fifteen heads of families, all of whom muſt be the proprietors of the ground and houſes in which they live; for thoſe who have no houſes of their own, notwithſtanding their being inhabitants of the ſtreet, are not admitted into thoſe corporations, but conſidered as tenants dependant on the landlords, and are therefore exempted from taxes and other burdens, except the night-watch and round, in which they are obliged to ſerve themſelves, or to procure a ſubſtitute, it being a duty which all the inhabitants are required to obſerve in rotation. Theſe tenants have no vote in the election of the officers of the ſtreet, nor any ſhare in the public

money;

money. Each of theſe little companies has one of its own body at their head, who is anſwerable for their actions; and if they be contrary to law, he ſhares with the reſt of the members the penalty they are ſentenced to undergo by the ſupreme magiſtrate.

There is likewiſe a ſecretary, or public notary, in every ſtreet, who writes and publiſhes the commands of the ottona to the inhabitants of the ſtreet, and gives paſſports, teſtimonials, and letters of diſmiſſion. The next officer is the treaſurer of the ſtreet, who keeps the public money, and from time to time accounts for it to the reſt of the inhabitants, ſpecifying the ſums he has received and paid. The inhabitants ſerve this office each a year in turn. There is another officer, named "the meſſenger of the ſtreet," who is to give information of every death, or any occurrence that is thought worth noticing. He alſo delivers to the chief officers the petitions of the inhabitants of the ſtreet, collects the contribution money for the preſent which at certain times is made to the governors and chief magiſtrates, delivers the commands of the magiſtrates to the heads of the companies, and publiſhes them in the ſtreet.

If an inhabitant deſigns to remove from the houſe and ſtreet in which he lives to another, he muſt firſt apply to the ottona of the other ſtreet, and making him a preſent of a diſh of fiſh, give him a petition, expreſſing his deſire to be admitted among the inhabitants of that ſtreet. The ottona, upon this, makes inquiry

inquiry into his life, character, and conduct, and then ſends his meſſenger of the ſtreet to every one of the inhabitants, deſiring to know if they will conſent to admit the petitioner as a neighbour; and if any one of the inhabitants oppoſes his admiſſion, urging that he is a drunkard, quarrelſome, or addicted to any other irregularity, and that he will not be anſwerable for the conſequences, it is ſufficient to exclude him. But if he obtains all their conſents, the petitioner muſt apply to the public notary of his former ſtreet for a certificate of his behaviour, and obtain a letter of admiſſion, both ſigned by the ottona, and theſe muſt be carried by the ſtreet-meſſenger to the ottona of the ſtreet to which the petitioner intends to remove; upon which he receives him under his protection, and incorporates him among the inhabitants of his ſtreet. Meanwhile he is not anſwerable for the petitioner's behaviour before his delivery of thoſe inſtruments; and ſhould he be found guilty of any crime committed before that time, it would be laid to the charge of the ſtreet in which he formerly lived. After his being admitted among the inhabitants of the new ſtreet, and his name entered in the regiſter-book, he ſolemniſes his entry with a handſome dinner; which he gives either to the company of five, or, if he pleaſes, to the whole ſtreet. His greateſt trouble, however, ſtill remains, and that is ſelling his old houſe; for this cannot be done without the conſent of all the inhabitants of the ſtreet, who often oppoſe it for upward

of a year, the buyer; for whose crimes they are for the future to suffer, not being sufficiently known, or not agreeable to them. Supposing all obstacles at length removed, the buyer is to pay an eighth part of the price into the public treasury of the street, five parts of which are to be equally distributed among the inhabitants, for the pains they have taken on account of the purchaser's admission, and the three remaining parts are allotted for a public dinner. This, however, is seldom given: but the new inhabitant has no sooner taken possession of his house, than all his neighbours come to wish him joy, and to offer him their services.

When an inhabitant of a street is accused of any misdemeanor, his case is laid before the street council, that is, the ottona, his three deputies, and the heads of the small companies; when, if the affair be too intricate for them to determine, they lay it before the council of the town; if they meet with the same difficulties, the Nengiosi, or four annual officers under the magistrates, are desired to confer upon the affair, assisted by some of the stewards of the governor's household, and if they find it necessary, to communicate it to the governor himself.

If quarrels or disputes arise in the street, either between the inhabitants or strangers, the next neighbours are obliged to part them; for if one should happen to be killed, though it were the aggressor, the other must inevitably suffer death, notwithstanding his alleging it was done in his own defence; and

he knows no other method of preventing the ſhame of a public execution, than by ripping up his own belly. Nor is his death thought a ſufficient ſatisfaction to their laws: three of thoſe families who live next to the place where the accident happened, are ſhut up in their houſes for three, four, or more months, and rough boards nailed acroſs their doors and windows, after they have prepared for this impriſonment by providing neceſſary proviſions; and the reſt of the inhabitants of the ſame ſtreet are ſentenced to paſs ſome days or months in hard labour upon the public works. Theſe penalties are inflicted in proportion to their guilt, in not endeavouring to the utmoſt of their power to prevent the fatal conſequences of ſuch a quarrel. A like puniſhment, but greater in degree, is inflicted on the heads of the companies of five in that ſtreet where the crime was committed; and it is an high aggravation of their guilt and puniſhment, if they knew before-hand that the perſons were of a quarrelſome diſpoſition, or, in other caſes, were inclined to the crime for which they ſuffer. The landlords, and alſo the maſters of the criminals, partake of the puniſhment inflicted for the miſdemeanors of their lodgers and ſervants. Whoever draws his ſword, though he does not hurt or even touch his enemy, muſt, if the fact be proved, ſuffer death. If an inhabitant flies from juſtice, the head of the company of five to which he belongs muſt purſue him, or hire people to follow him till

 he

he be found, and delivered up to the civil magiſtrate, under pain of corporal puniſhment.

RELIGION OF THE JAPANESE.] Their religion is *in general the groſſeſt heatheniſm and idolatry;* but religious liberty, ſo far as it has no interference with the intereſt of the ſecular government, or does not affect the peace and tranquillity of the empire, has always been allowed in Japan: hence foreign religions have been eaſily introduced, and propagated with ſucceſs; there are therefore many religions in Japan, the principal of which are the three following:

I. The Sinto, or ancient idol-worſhip of the Japaneſe.

II. The Budſo, or foreign idol-worſhip, introduced into Japan from the empire of China and the kingdom of Siam; and,

III. The religion of their philoſophers and moraliſts.

I. The religion of the Sintos deſerves to be firſt ſpoken of, more on account of its antiquity, than for the number of its profeſſors. Theſe have ſome obſcure and imperfect notions of the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of bliſs or miſery, and yet worſhip only thoſe gods whom they believe are peculiarly concerned in the government of the world; for though they acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they believe dwells in the higheſt heaven, and admit of ſome inferior gods,

whom

whom they place among the ſtars; yet they do not worſhip and adore them, nor have they any feſtival-days ſacred to them, thinking that beings ſo much above mankind will concern themſelves but little about human affairs. They, however, ſwear by theſe ſuperior gods; but they worſhip and invoke thoſe gods alone whom they believe to have the ſovereign control over this world, its elements, productions, and animals; theſe they ſuppoſe will not only render them happy here, but, by interceding for them at the hour of death, may procure them a happy condition in the next ſtate of exiſtence, in reward of their proper conduct here. Hence their dairis, or eccleſiaſtical emperors, being eſteemed lineally deſcended from the eldeſt and moſt favoured ſons of theſe deities, the ſuppoſed heirs of their excellent qualities, are conſidered as the true and living images of their gods, and poſſeſſed of ſuch an eminent degree of holineſs, that none of the people dare preſume to appear in their preſence. In ſhort, the whole ſyſtem of the Sinto's divinity is a lame and ridiculous jumble of abſurdities, and moſt probably would not have ſubſiſted ſo long, had it not been ſo cloſely connected with thoſe civil cuſtoms, in the obſervance of which this nation is ſcrupulouſly exact.

The temples of the Sintoiſts are exceedingly mean; within them is hung up white paper cut into ſmall pieces, as emblems of the purity of the place; and ſometimes there is a large mirror in the

 middle,

middle, that the worſhippers, when they behold themſelves, may conſider, that as diſtinctly as all their bodily defects appear in the mirror, ſo conſpicuouſly do the ſecret ſtains of their hearts appear before the eyes of the immortal gods. Theſe temples are frequently without any viſible idols of the gods to whom they are conſecrated, they being locked up in a caſe at the upper end, and to this caſe the people bow. Theſe temples are not attended by prieſts, but by ſeculars, who are, with very few exceptions, utterly ignorant of the principles of the religion they profeſs, and unacquainted with the hiſtory of the gods they worſhip. Theſe, when they go abroad, are dreſſed, for diſtinction ſake, in large gowns, commonly white, but ſometimes yellow, and of other colours; occaſionally under theſe they wear their common ſecular dreſs. They ſhave their beards; but let their hair grow, and wear a ſtiff, oblong, lackered cap, reſembling in ſhape a ſhip, tied under their chins with twiſted ſilk ſtrings, terminated with taſſels, which hang lower or higher according to the office or quality of the perſon who wears them, who is not obliged to bow lower to perſons of ſuperior rank than to make theſe taſſels touch the floor. Their ſuperiors have their hair twiſted under black gauze or crape, in a very particular manner; and have their ears covered by a kind of flap, which ſtands out or hangs, according to the dignities or honourable titles conferred upon them by the dairi. They are under his direction in ſpiritual affairs; but

h

in temporals they, and all the other ecclefiaftical perfons in the empire, are under the command of two imperial judges, appointed by the fecular emperor. Their haughtinefs and pride exceed defcription; when they appear in a fecular drefs, they, like the nobles, wear two fabres, and think it becomes their ftation to fhun all communication and intimacy with the common people.

The Sintoifts do not adhere to the doctrine of the tranfmigration of fouls; yet abftain from killing and eating thofe beafts that are of fervice to mankind, becaufe they imagine that flaying them would be an act of cruelty and ingratitude. They believe that the foul, after quitting the body, is removed to the high fubceleftial fields, feated juft beneath the thirty-three heavens, the dwelling-places of their gods: that thofe who have led a good life find an immediate admiffion, while the fouls of the wicked and the impious are denied entrance, and condemned to wander till they have expiated their crimes; but they do not believe in a hell or place of torment. One of the effential points of their religion is, that they ought to preferve an inward purity of heart, and to practife or abftain from whatever the dictates of reafon, or the exprefs command of the civil magiftrate, direct or forbid. They have no formulary, either by divine or ecclefiaftical authority, for regulating their focial conduct. Hence it might be imagined, that they would indulge, without fcruple, the gratification of their wifhes and defires, unreftrained by the dread

of acting contrary to the will of the gods, and feeling no apprehensions of incurring their displeasure; but they have an active principle in their own breasts, which preserves them in the habitual exercise of virtuous and good actions, and restrains them from the practice of vice.

Another essential point of the Sinto's religion is a rigorous abstinence from whatever renders a man impure. This consists in abstaining from blood, from eating flesh, or being near a dead body; by which a person is for a time rendered unfit to go to the temples, to visit holy places, and to appear in the presence of the gods. Whoever is stained with his own or another's blood, is for seven days unfit to approach the holy places; and if, in building a temple, one of the workmen happens to receive a hurt, by which blood is drawn, he is from thenceforward incapacitated from working on that sacred building. But if the same accident should happen in building or repairing any of the Sinto's temples at Isje, the temple itself must be pulled down and rebuilt. Whoever eats the flesh of any four-footed beast, deer only excepted, is unclean for thirty days: yet whoever eats of a wild or tame fowl, water-fowl, crane, or pheasant, is unclean only a Japanese hour, which is equal to two of ours. Whoever kills a beast, or is present at an execution, attends a dying person, or enters a house where a dead body lies, is unclean for that day; and the nearer a person is related to the deceased, so much the greater is the impurity. By

the

the neglect of these precepts people are rendered guilty of external defilement, which they say is detested by the gods, and renders men unfit to approach their temples.

The other great points of their religion are, 1. A diligent observation of the solemn festivals, in honour of their gods, which are very numerous. 2. Pilgrimages to the holy place at Isje: that is, to the temple of Tensio Dai Sin, the greatest of all the gods of the Japanese. The last essential doctrine of their religion is, that they ought to chastise and mortify their bodies; but few of them pay much regard to this precept.

The orthodox Sintoists go in pilgrimage to Isje once a year, or at least once in their lives; for, beside their considering it as a duty, they imagine they shall reap great advantages from this journey, such as being absolved from all their sins, and receiving the assurance of immediate happiness after death, beside having in this life the possession of health, children, riches, dignities, and other temporal blessings. To keep alive these sentiments in the minds of the superstitious vulgar, every pilgrim is, for a small consideration, presented by the canusies, or secular priests, with an instrument containing the remission of his sins, called an ofarrai. This pilgrimage is made at all times of the year, but chiefly in the three first months, March, April, and May, when the fineness of the weather renders the journey very agreeable and pleasant. Every one is at liberty to travel in what manner he pleases;

pleaſes; thoſe who are able to do it at their own ex-pence, go in ſedans, or on horſeback, with a retinue ſuitable to their rank; but the poor travel on foot, and are ſupported on their way by charitable contri-butions. Such carry upon their backs a ſtraw mat, rolled up, which ſerves them for a bed, and have a ſtaff in their hands. They have a veſſel hanging to their girdle, out of which they drink, and wherein they receive the charity of the people. Generally their names, and the place whence they came, are written both upon this veſſel and on their great hat made of ſplit reeds, that in caſe of ſudden death, or any other accident upon the road, it may be known who they are, and to whom they belong. Thoſe who can afford it wear over their other clothes a ſhort white coat, without ſleeves, with their names ſtitched upon the breaſt and back. Incredible multitudes of theſe pilgrims crowd the roads. The very children, if apprehenſive of a ſevere puniſhment for their faults, will run away from their parents, and go to Isje, to fetch an ofarray, which, upon their return, is deemed a ſufficient expiation of their crimes, and a ſure means of procuring a reconciliation. When a pilgrim is about to undertake this holy journey, he muſt religiouſly abſtain from every impurity, parti-cularly from fornication, and even lying with his own wife; though, at other times, the performance of matrimonial duties is held agreeable to the gods. After the pilgrim is ſet out on his journey, a rope, with a piece of white paper twiſted round it, is hung

over

over the door of the houſe, to guard ſuch as are impure from the death of their parents or near relations from entering; it being firmly believed that ſuch an intruſion would occaſion the pilgrim's having ſtrange uneaſy dreams, or expoſe him to ſome dire misfortune.

The temple of Isje is ſeated on a large plain, and is a low, thatched, wooden building, as a monument of the ſimplicity and poverty of its original founders. In the middle of it is a mirror of poliſhed metal, as an emblem of the all-ſeeing eye of the god to whom it is conſecrated, and his knowledge of what paſſes in the inmoſt receſſes of his worſhipper's hearts; and ſome white paper is hung round the walls, to repreſent the purity of the place. This principal temple is ſurrounded by near an hundred ſmall temples, built in honour of inferior gods; the greateſt part of which are ſo low and ſmall, that a man can ſcarcely ſtand upright in them; but each is attended by a canuſi, or ſecular prieſt. Adjoining are the houſes of the officers of the temple, who ſtyle themſelves "the meſſengers of the gods," and keep lodgings for the accommodation of pilgrims. At a ſmall diſtance is a town that bears the ſame name with the temple, and is inhabited by innkeepers, paper-makers, book-binders, cabinet-makers, joiners, and other workmen whoſe buſineſs depends on the holy trade carried on there.

On the pilgrim's arrival at Isje, he applies with great ſolemnity to one of the canuſies, bowing, according

cording to the custom of the country, till his fore-head touches the ground; upon which the canusi either conducts him and the other pilgrims, or commands his servants to conduct them, to the several temples, and to acquaint them with the names of the gods to whom they were built; which being done, he takes them before the chief temple, where, prostrating themselves on the ground, they address their supplications to Tensio Dai Sin; enumerate their wants and necessities, and pray for health, long life, happiness, riches, and the like. They are afterward entertained and lodged by the canusi in his own house, if they are unable to defray the expence of lodging at a public inn: they, however, generally make him a present in return for his civility, though it be procured by begging.

The pilgrim having performed all the acts of devotion which are enjoined him, the canusi presents him with an ofarrai, or indulgence. This is an oblong box, about a span and a half long, two inches broad, and an inch and a half high, full of small sticks, some of which are wrapped in pieces of white paper, to remind him that he must be pure and humble. *Dai Singu*, that is, the temple of the great god, printed in large characters, is pasted on the front of the box; and the name of the canusi who gave it, with the title, "Messenger of the gods," in small characters, is pasted on the opposite side. This they receive with great marks of respect and humility, and immediately tie it under their hats to preserve

preserve it from the rain, wearing it just under their foreheads, and balancing it with another box, or bundle of straw, of about the same weight, tied behind; but those who travel on horseback have better conveniencies for keeping it. When they return home they take singular care of the ofarrai, as of an inestimable possession; and though its efficacy continues only a year, yet after that is expired, they place it in one of their best rooms, on a shelf made for the purpose. In some places they keep the old ofarrais over the doors of their houses, within a small roof; but the poor, for want of a better place, keep them in hollow trees behind their houses. Large quantities of these ofarrais are annually sent by the canusies into all parts of the empire, to supply those who cannot or will not fetch them. The pedlars who carry those baubles, resort to the most populous towns toward New Year's-day, which is one of their solemn festivals, and sell at the same time new almanacks, which are permitted to be printed no where but at Isje.

The superstitious Japanese are equally inclined to make religious vows as to go in pilgrimage to places esteemed holy. Hence there are a great number of religious houses for both sexes, and of many different orders. Among these are the *Jammabos*, an order of hermits, who profess to renounce their temporal concerns for the sake of those that are spiritual and eternal: yet those who are able to live at their ease dwell in their own houses, while the poor stroll about

the

the country, and subsist by charitable contributions. The Jammaboes have been separated into two sects, the *Tosansa* and the *Fonsansa*. Those who embrace the former class must, once a year, climb to the top of the mountain Fikoosan, a journey of no small difficulty and danger, on account not only of its height and steepness, but of the many precipices which are around it; and beside, it is imagined, that all who presume to ascend it with any degree of impurity, are punished for their impious rashness by being struck with madness. On the other hand, those who enter into the order of Fonsansa, must, once a year, go in pilgrimage to the grave of their founder, at the top of an high mountain named Omine; where the air is said to be excessively cold, and the steepness and precipices make its ascent no less dangerous than that of the other. These suppose, that should any one undertake this journey without being sufficiently purified, he would be thrown down the horrid precipices and dashed to pieces, or at least would pay for his contempt of the anger of the gods by a lingering sickness, or some dreadful misfortune. They therefore qualify themselves by previous mortifications, abstaining from impure food, from lying with their wives, and from whatever may render them defiled. While they are upon their journey, they must live only upon the roots and plants they find on the mountains. If they return safe home, every one goes to the general of his order, who resides at Miaco, and makes him a small

a small present of money, which the poor procure by begging; and in return they receive from him a more honourable title, which occasions some alteration in their dress, and increases the respect shewn them by their brethren of the same order. Thus ambition is far from being banished from these religious communities.

These hermits are said to be very much degenerated from the austerity of their ancestors, who, in imitation of the example set them by their founder, and pursuant to the rules he laid down, subsisted entirely upon plants and roots, exposing themselves to severe mortifications, to fasting, bathing in cold water, and wandering through woods and forests, desert and uninhabited places. They have also deviated much from the simplicity of their religion, and have admitted the worship of such foreign idols as they imagine have the greatest influence on the occurrences of life. They also now pretend to be well versed in magical arts, and that, by certain mystical ceremonies, words, and charms, they can prevail on all the gods of the country, as well of the Sintoists as those of the Budsoists, to drive out evil spirits, to assist them in diving into secrets, recovering stolen goods, and in finding out thieves; in foretelling future events, explaining dreams, in curing desperate diseases, and in finding out the guilt and innocence of persons accused of crimes.

Among the religious societies established in Japan, we shall only mention that of the *Blind*; which forms a very

a very ſingular, as well as a very antient nu-merous body, compoſed of perſons of all ranks. Originally theſe formed but one ſociety; but they are now divided into the *Blind Buſetz*, and the *Blind Fekies*. The Blind Buſetz owe their origin to Senmimar, one of the younger ſons of the emperor Jengion. He was a youth of incomparable beauty, and admired by all that approached him. He particularly captivated the heart of a princeſs of the royal blood, whilſt her beauty and virtues made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon him. The happy lovers had for ſome time enjoyed all the felicity that ariſes from a mutual paſſion, when the death of the fair princeſs deprived the enamoured ſurvivor of all comfort, and ſoon, through exceſs of grief, he loſt his ſight. Upon this, to perpetuate her memory, and his deeply rooted ſorrow, he, with his father's conſent, erected a ſociety, into which none were admitted but thoſe who were blind by birth or accident. This ſociety became highly reſpectable: for ſome centuries it continued united in one body, till the Blind Fekies ſpringing up, and many of the great men of the empire, who had loſt their ſight, voluntarily entering into it, the former were reduced, and confined to eccleſiaſtics.

The Blind Fekies owe their origin to the civil wars between two powerful factions, the Fekies and Gendzies, who long contended for the empire. The cauſe of Feki, and his adherents, at length appearing more juſt to the reigning dairi than that of Gendzi,

Gendzi, he resolved to support it, which he did so effectually, that Gendzi and his party were defeated, and almost destroyed. But, as success is often followed by pride and insolence, the victorious Feki, forgetting the obligations he lay under to the dairi, treated him with such insolence and ingratitude, that he resolved to espouse the interest of Gendzi and his adherents, to whom he promised every assistance, if they would again assemble and take up arms against Feki. This entirely changed the aspect of affairs; a decisive battle was fought, in which the Gendzi were victorious, and Feki himself was slain. Among those who escaped with their lives was Kakekigo, a general famed for his valour and amazing strength, who embarked in a small boat. Jeritomo, general of the Gendzies, a very intrepid warrior, sensible of the consequence of securing the person of Kakekigo, without which he considered his victory as incomplete, caused him to be pursued, and he was at length taken. When Kakekigo was brought before Jeritomo, the latter treated him with all the respect due to his rank and character, and gave him such liberty that he several times escaped, but was as often retaken. Though he was his enemy and prisoner, Jeritomo was so far from putting him to death, that he generously resolved to purchase his friendship and affection at any price. But one day, when he was earnestly pressing him to enter into his service upon any terms he should propose, the captive general boldly replied, "I was once a faithful servant to a

kind maſter, and now he is dead no other [illegible] boaſt of my faith and friendſhip. Thou, I own, haſt laid me under great obligations, and to thy clemency I owe even my life. Yet ſuch is my misfortune, that I cannot fix theſe eyes on thee, without reſolving to revenge him by taking off thy head. Theſe therefore, theſe prompters to miſchief, I will offer to thee, as the only acknowledgment for thy generous behaviour which my unhappy condition allows me to render thee." This ſaid, with an undaunted courage, equal to that of the brave Roman, who, in the ſight of Porſenna, burnt his right hand on the altar, he plucked out both his eyes, and on a plate preſented them to Jeritomo, who, aſtoniſhed at ſuch magnanimity and amazing reſolution, gave him his liberty; upon which he retired into the province of Fingo, where he learned to play upon the bywa, a muſical inſtrument uſed in Japan, and founded this ſociety of the Blind Feki, of which he himſelf was the head. They are ſince become very numerous, and are compoſed of perſons of all ranks: but none of them live upon charity; all applying, according to their ſeveral capacities, to ſuch different profeſſions as they are not excluded from by the loſs of ſight. Many are muſicians, and employed at the courts of princes and great men, and alſo in public ſolemnities, proceſſions, feſtivals, and weddings. They are diſperſed through the empire; but their general reſides at Miaco, and has a penſion from the dairi. He is aſſiſted by ten council, who alſo reſide in the ſame

ſame city; of this council he is the eldeſt, and all of them have the power of life and death, with this reſtriction, that no perſon can be executed unleſs the ſentence be ſigned by the principal judge of Miaco. This council appoint their inferior officers, who reſide each in his province, and are there what the general is with reſpect to the whole ſociety: and theſe alſo have officers under them.

II. The Budſo, or foreign pagan-worſhip introduced into Japan, probably owes its origin to Budha, whom the Brahmins of India believe to be Wiſthnu, their deity, who, they ſay, made his ninth appearance in the world under the form of a man of that name. The Chineſe and Japaneſe call him Buds and Siaka, which names indeed at length became a common epithet for all gods and idols in general brought from foreign countries, and ſometimes they were given to the pretended ſaints who preached theſe new doctrines.

The moſt eſſential points of this religion are, that the ſouls of men and animals are immortal, and both of the ſame ſubſtance, differing only according to the bodies in which they are placed; and that after the ſouls of mankind have left their bodies, they ſhall be rewarded or puniſhed according to their behaviour in this life, by being introduced to a ſtate of happineſs or miſery. This ſtate of happineſs they call a place of eternal pleaſures; and ſay, that as the gods differ in their nature, and the ſouls of men in virtue, ſo alſo do the degrees of pleaſure in the ſtate of bliſs,

in order that every one may be rewarded according to his deserts: yet they consider the whole place as so entirely filled with felicity, that each happy inhabitant thinks his portion best, and is so far from envying the superior happiness of others, that all his wishes are confined to having his own happiness rendered perpetual. Their god Amida is the sovereign commander of these blissful regions, and is considered as the patron and protector of human souls; but more particularly as the god and father of those who are happily removed to a state of felicity. These maintain, that leading a virtuous life, and doing nothing contrary to the five commandments, is the only way to become agreeable to Amida, and to render themselves worthy of eternal happiness.

On the other hand, all persons, whether priests or laymen, who, by their sinful lives and vicious actions, have rendered themselves unworthy of the pleasures prepared for the virtuous, are, after death, sent to a place of misery, there to be confined and tormented during a certain indefinite time, where every one is to be punished according to the nature and number of his crimes, the number of years he lived upon earth, his station there, and his opportunities for becoming good and virtuous. To Jemma, who is the severe Judge of this place of misery, the vicious actions of mankind appear with all their aggravating circumstances, by means of a large mirror, called "the *mirror of knowledge*," which is placed before

before him. Yet the miseries of the unhappy ſouls confined to theſe gloomy priſons, they imagine, may be greatly alleviated by the good actions and virtuous lives of their family, their friends, and relations, whom they left behind; but nothing, they are taught, is ſo conducive to this deſirable end, as the prayers and offerings of the prieſts to the great and good Amida, who can prevail on the almoſt inexorable judge to treat the impriſoned ſouls with ſomewhat leſs ſeverity than their crimes deſerve, and to ſend them ſpeedily again into the world. For when they have been confined in theſe infernal priſons a time ſufficient to expiate their crimes, they are ſentenced by Jemma to return to this earth, and animate thoſe creatures whoſe nature is moſt nearly allied to their former ſinful inclinations; as, for inſtance, toads, ſerpents, inſects, four-footed beaſts, birds, and fiſhes. From the vileſt of theſe, tranſmigrating into others and nobler, they at laſt are ſuffered again to enter human bodies, and thus have it in their power, either by their virtue and piety, to obtain an uninterrupted ſtate of felicity, or, by a new courſe of vices, once more to expoſe themſelves to all the miſeries of confinement in a place of torment, ſucceeded by a new unhappy tranſmigration.

The five commandments of the law of Buds, or Siaka, which are the ſtanding rule of the life and behaviour of all his faithful followers, are, 1. Not to kill any thing that has life. 2. Not to ſteal.

 3. Not

3. Not to commit fornication. 4. To avoid lies, and all falsehood; and, 5. Not to drink strong liquors; which last Siaka very strongly enjoins upon his disciples.

Beside these chief and general commandments, there are ten counsels or admonitions, which are only these five laws amplified, and applied to more particular actions, all tending to a stricter observance of virtue. A still farther subdivision hath been made of these laws into five hundred counsels and admonitions, in which are specified, with the utmost exactness, whatever, according to their notions, has the least tendency to virtue and vice. But the number of these admonitions being so very great, it is not surprising that those who are distinguished for observing them are very few; the rather, as they tend to such a thorough mortification of their bodies, as to measure and prescribe the minutest part of their diet, and scarcely to allow them the food necessary to support life.

Of the followers of Siaka there are several sects, all of which have their temples, their convents, and their priests: and of all their religious buildings in the country these temples, with their adjoining convents, are the most remarkable, as being far superior to all others, from their stately height, curious roofs, and numberless ornaments, which agreeably surprise the beholder; such as are built within cities or villages generally stand on a rising ground, and in the most conspicuous places. They are all most agree-

ably

ably situated: a fine view of the adjacent country, with the neighbourhood of a wood, a clear rivulet, and pleasant walks, being essential requisites in the site of these temples; for with such situations, they say, the gods are delighted; and the priests readily adopt the same opinion. Beautiful stair-cases of stone lead up to these structures, and several small temples, or chapels, are built within the court; these are adorned with gilt images, lackered columns, gates, and pillars, all very neat, but rather pretty than magnificent. Both the principal temple, and those smaller ones that are dependant on it, are built of the best cedars and firs; and in the midst of the large temple stands a fine altar, with one or more gilt idols upon it, and a beautiful candlestick with sweet-scented candles burning before it. These temples are frequently supported by a great number of pillars, and are so neatly adorned, that a man might fancy himself transported into a Romish church, did not the monstrous shape of the idols convince him of the contrary. One of these temples, erected at Miaco, is esteemed the most sumptuous in the empire. It is built with free-stone; the roof is bold and lofty. It stands on the top of a hill, and on each side of the ascent are lofty pillars of free-stone, ten paces distant from each other; and on the top of each a large lantern, which makes a fine appearance at night, being then lighted up. The temple itself is supported by a number of pillars, and

contains many idols, among which is one of gilt copper, of a prodigious size, seated in a chair eighty feet broad, and seventy feet in height. No less than fifteen men may stand on the head of this colossus, whose thumb is fourteen inches in circumference, and the body and limbs of this monstrous figure in proportion. Indeed the whole country abounds with idols, which are to be found not only in temples, but in public and private buildings, in streets, markets, and along the highways. People are, however, not required to prostrate themselves before them, or to pay them any other than voluntary respect.

III. The religion of the philosophers and moralists is very different from that of the two former; for they pay no regard to any of the forms of worship practised in the country. The supreme good, say they, consists in that pleasure and delight that arises from the steady practice of virtue: they maintain that men are obliged to be virtuous, because nature has endowed them with reason, that by living according to its dictates, they might shew their superiority to the irrational inhabitants of the earth. They do not admit of transmigration of souls, but believe that there is an universal soul diffused through all nature, which animates all things, and which re-assumes departed souls, as the sea does the rivers. This universal spirit they confound with the Supreme Being. These philosophers not only admit of self-murder, but consider it as an heroic and commendable action,

when

when it is the only honourable means of avoiding a ſhameful death, or of eſcaping from the hands of a victorious enemy.

They conform to the general cuſtom of the country in commemorating their deceaſed parents and relations, by placing all ſorts of proviſions, both raw and dreſſed, on a table provided for that purpoſe; and by monthly or anniverſary dinners, to which are invited the family and friends of the deceaſed, who all appear in their beſt garments, having previouſly waſhed and purified themſelves, for three days, during which they abſtain from lying with their wives, and from every thing held to be impure.

They celebrate no other feſtivals, nor pay any reſpect to the gods of the country. Being formerly ſuſpected of favouring the Chriſtian religion, they are obliged to have each an idol, or at leaſt the name of one, put up in a conſpicuous and honourable place in their houſes, with a flower-pot and cenſer before them; but in their public ſchools is hung up the picture of Confucius. This ſect was formerly very numerous. Arts and ſciences were cultivated among them, and the moſt enlightened part of the nation was of that profeſſion; but the dreadful perſecution of the Chriſtians greatly weakened it, and it has been declining ever ſince: the extreme rigour of the imperial edicts makes people in general cautious even of reading their books, which were formerly the delight and admiration of the nation, and held in as great

great esteem as the writings of Socrates and Plato are in Europe.

The most copious account of the history, government, religion, manners, and customs of the Japanese, is given by Kæmpher, who was a native of Magdeburg, and resided many years among the Japanese. The strict manner in which all intercourse with foreigners has been prohibited since his time, shut out every opportunity of acquiring information concerning the changes in manners and customs, as well as the public events which may have taken place in the course of near a century, until Dr. Thunberg, a Swede, in the years 1775 and 1776, obtained permission to travel with the Dutch ambassador from Nagasaki to Jedo, in quality of his physician; from the account which he has given of that journey we have obtained much information.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

CHINA.

THE extensive empire of China is situated in the finest part of Asia, on its eastern extremity: it has Tartary to the N.; Pegu, Siam, and Cochin-China, to the S.; Tibet to the W.; and the Pacific Ocean to the E. Its extent from N. to S. is about twenty-two degrees of latitude, being from 42° to 20°; and from E. to W. about twenty degrees of longitude, that is from 101° to 121°. It is composed of sixteen very large provinces, fifteen of which are within the great wall, and one without. Of these provinces, Kian-nang or Nankin, Chang-tong or Shantong, Tche-kiang, and Fo-kien, are situated on the coasts of the Yellow Sea and the Eastern Ocean; Petcheli or Pekin, Chansi or Kansi, and Chensi or Kensi, extend along the side of the great wall that separates it from Tartary on the N.; Se-chuen and Yun-nan are on the borders of the W. and a part of the S.; and Quan-si or Quansi, and Quangtoug or Canton, are on the remainder of the southern coast; while Honan, Hou-quang or Hu-quam, Koie-tchou or Quechue, and Kian-si or Kiamsi, are situated in the midst, and surrounded by the other eleven: but Quan-tong or Lyau-tong, which

which is without the wall, is situated on the most northern coast of the Yellow Sea.

A considerable part of Eastern Tartary is likewise subject to the emperor. The little island of Maco or Macao, so useful for carrying on the European trade, is situated in a gulph into which the river Tae discharges its waters, on the banks of which river the city of Canton is situated. The large islands of Haynan and Formosa are partly under the dominion of the emperor.

The origin of the Chinese empire is extremely obscure. The common traditional history of that monarchy is undoubtedly false, as forty thousand years are supposed to have passed since its foundation; but, according to their regular history, in which the learned are pretty well agreed, the dinasties, or royal families of China, whence their kings have sprung, are supposed to have commenced about 2207 years before the Christian æra. Some have conjectured that Noah retired to China after the flood; others that some of his descendants, in the second or third generation, first settled there, whilst some learned men have supposed, particularly M. Huet, and M. de Guignes, that China was first peopled by colonies from Egypt, whilst others have strenuously maintained the contrary opinion, namely, that Egypt was peopled from China. Each of these conclusions are founded on the great conformity which appears between the Chinese and Egyptian customs. The foundation of the Chinese monarchy is

is said to have been laid by Yu or Hya, whose virtue, wisdom, and power, added to his great age, induced the people to listen to him as to an oracle; and as he regulated all private, as well as political and religious affairs, the state soon became in a flourishing condition.

The first dynasty of kings in China, M. de Guignes supposes to have been a succession of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, but that no Egyptian colony settled in China until about the year 1122 before the Christian æra. The same learned inquirer seems fully to have satisfied himself, that he had discovered a very striking conformity between the ancient Phœnician alphabet and that of the Chinese; he has likewise taken great pains to convince the world, that the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians are equally manifest in the Chinese writings. M. Deshautesraye, another member of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres at Paris, combats these opinions. In the Chinese dictionary, called Choveven, he can find no resemblance between the ancient Chinese radical characters and the Phœnician letters, either in their form or in their primordial signification. Nor is he more inclined to admit the similarity between the symbolic characters, or hieroglyphics; and he asks, if M. de Guignes' opinions are well founded, what is become of the Egyptian religion, which the priests carried into China? He likewise maintains, that the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which was adhered to by the ancient Egyptians, was not known in China

China until the 65th year of the Chriſtian æra, which he ſays would have been impoſſible to have happened, if an Egyptian colony had been eſtabliſhed there more than a thouſand years before that period.

Among the Chineſe philoſophers ſome have maintained the eternity of the world, and the boaſted antiquity of the Chineſe empire agrees very well with ſuch an opinion, ſome computations carrying up their traditions of the firſt man, whom they call Poan-Kou, very near one hundred thouſand years before the time of Confucius. This marvellous aſſumption, in itſelf ſo very incredible as to ſtand in need of the moſt ſatisfactory proof, is in fact very feebly ſupported, and blended with moſt abſurd fictions; ſuch as that in the reign of the emperor Yau the ſun was obſerved not to ſet for ten days. Father Fouquet, biſhop of Eleutheropolis, who examined this ſubject deeply, makes the reſult of his inquiries to be, that the æra of the Chineſe hiſtory, ſo far as it is genuine, ſhould commence about four hundred years before Chriſt; ſome, he ſays, who have inveſtigated the matter, adduce ſtrong reaſons for bringing it ſtill lower. It muſt be obſerved, however, that the period ſettled by the biſhop involves in fable even the time of Confucius. He admits, indeed, that the Chineſe nation may be nearly as old as the deluge; but then he contends that their hiſtory deſerves very little credit any farther back than the period he aſſigns. See a Chronological Table, con-

ſiſting

ſiſting of three ſheets, publiſhed at Rome in the year 1729.

Of the literature of China, the largeſt collection in Europe is preſerved in the imperial academy at Peterſburg; according to Mr. Coxe it is compoſed of 2800 different pieces; but in the late French king's library was depoſited a copy of the great annals of the Chineſe empire, which conſiſts of near 700 volumes, of which prodigious work a chronological abridgment was publiſhed in China at the beginning of the preſent century, in one hundred volumes, from which, and from other materials, the Abbé Groſier has publiſhed in French the Annals of China, in twelve quarto volumes. The ſame laborious examiner and able writer has lately favoured the world with much valuable information concerning the Chineſe, in a work entitled *Deſcription General de la Chine*, from which the reader will find that we have frequently drawn our information.

Upon a cloſe and impartial examination of the proofs on which the claim of the Chineſe to an almoſt inconceivable antiquity is raiſed, nothing appears of ſufficient force to invalidate the Moſaic account of the creation of the world and the Hebrew chronology, though ſome writers have urged them for that purpoſe. Having premiſed thus much, we ſhall proceed to give a ſhort ſketch of the hiſtory of China.

The form of government in China appears to have been invariably monarchical, and the ſucceſſion

generally hereditary. Their hiſtory divides the emperors into twenty-two dynaſties, or epochas of each imperial family that has ſucceſſively filled the throne, according to the following table, taken from Du Halde.

Dynaſties.		Emperors.	Years before Chriſt. At the beginning of each Dynaſty.	Duration of each Dynaſty.
I	Hya - -	17	2207	441
II	Shang or Ing	28	1766	644
III	Cheou - -	35	1122	874
IV	Tſin - -	4	248	42
V	Han - -	25	206	426
			After Xt.	
VI	Hau-han -	2	220	45
VII	Tſin II. -	15	265	155
VIII	Soum - -	8	420	59
IX	Tſi - - -	5	479	23
X	Lyang - -	4	502	53
XI	Chin - -	5	555	35
XII	Soui - -	3	590	28
XIII	Tang - -	20	618	289
XIV	Heou-lyang	2	907	16
XV	Heau-tang	4	923	13
XVI	Heou-tſin -	2	936	11
XVII	Heou-han -	2	947	4
XVIII	Heou-chew	3	951	9
XIX	Soum II. -	18	960	320
XX	Youen - -	9	1280	88
XXI	Ming - -	16	1368	277
XXII	Tſing - -	3	1644	144
	Emperors -	230	Years -	3,996

China

China is reported to have been first visited by an European in the thirteenth century, it being then discovered by Marco Paulo, a Venetian, who travelled thither over land. His account was afterward confirmed by the Portuguese, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the famous Albuquerque, in the reign of Emanuel, visited this remote coast. An earlier visit to China we shall however speak of in the sequel.

The history of China, till the middle of the last century, furnishes very few interesting events; it is little better than a dry narrative of the names and successions of their different emperors, and the frequent civil wars which arose between them and the petty princes. These occasioned no revolutions in the form of government, and furnished no important facts for the historian.

The Abbé Grosier, speaking of the great wall, which was built more than 2100 years since, to prevent the incursions of the Tartars, says, "This prodigious work effaces the most wonderful and gigantic performances of antiquity: the pyramids of Egypt are nothing in comparison with a wall that extends through three great provinces, and traverses an extent of country for five hundred leagues." The Abbé Raynal has the following remark on this erection. "The fortifying such a work proves that the empire must then have been prodigiously populous. If the Chinese had been men of courage they would themselves have attacked the roving tribes, or have kept them in awe by well disciplined armies: if they had

had been ſkilled in the art of war, they would have known that lines continued through ſuch an extent could not be defended in every part, and that if they were broken out in one place, all the fortifications would become uſeleſs." *Hiſt. Politique liv.* 7. This wall is about 26 feet high; at its baſe it is about 20 feet thick; its breadth at top is about 15, where it is well paved, and has a parapet on each ſide. Towers are erected on it at about 100 yards diſtance, the number of which is computed at 45,000. The Tartars indeed ſeem to have been the only foreign enemy of the Chineſe until about the thirteenth century; when the conqueſt of Japan was projected by ſome of their emperors; which occaſioned frequent wars between the two ſtates.

In 1127 a formidable invaſion by the Tartars, under their king Ho-tſing, ſeemed to threaten the ſubverſion of the Chineſe empire. He penetrated as far as Nanking, which he made himſelf maſter of; but being vigorouſly attacked by the emperor's forces he retreated precipitately, after having reduced the royal palace there to aſhes.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century the emperor Shi-tſu undertook the conqueſt of Japan, for which purpoſe he tranſported thither an army of 100,000 men, but the deſign miſcarried, and the whole armament being ſhipwrecked was totally loſt; ſo that after a conflict continued for ſeveral years, he was at length obliged to abandon his enterpriſe, and retire into his own territories.

In 1628 Whay-Tſong, or Zun Ching, mounted

th

the imperial throne of China; in him the Chinese race of emperors terminated, and the 22d dynasty began in the person of his successor Tsing, the Tartarian conqueror, who effected the greatest revolution in the empire of China that their annals record. This event happened in the year 1644, when the empire was torn and enfeebled by domestic dissensions. The discontented parties were then so numerous, that there were no less than eight different armies under the command of as many chiefs. In this season of general anarchy, the Tartars, who had become powerful by being incorporated with the Manchews, having ravaged the northern provinces of the empire with impunity, seized upon the capital in the year 1644, and soon after subjected the whole kingdom.

It is truly wonderful that so powerful an empire, almost equal to Europe in extent, and containing double its number of inhabitants (Osbeck computing the empire to contain fifty-eight millions of people from twenty to sixty years of age) should, in the course of a very few years, be brought under subjection to a foreign prince: but the moderation and wisdom of the Tartarian emperors effected as much as their arms; and the attachment which they shewed to the established laws and forms of government, and their impartiality in dispensing honours and emoluments, completed their conquest.

Thus the Chinese and Tartars were united into one nation; and by this union the latter seem rather to have submitted to the laws of the former, than to

have imposed any upon them. So that China may be said to have conquered its conqueror, even with more propriety than Greece is said to have done it to Rome.

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit. Hor. Ep. I. 1. 156.

When conquer'd Greece brought in her captive arts,
She triumph'd o'er her savage conquerors' hearts. Francis.

In reality, Tartary became subject to China, which still holds the seat of empire, and has the supreme courts of justice. Thither flows all the wealth of the united kingdoms; and there all honours are conferred. Thus China has gained a great addition of strength from Tartary, and has now no enemy to fear. Their northern neighbours are under the same sovereign, who keeps them in such subjection, that they are no longer able to disturb the repose of the empire. Many of the petty kings of Tartary are no more than his viceroys, and the emperor has forts and garrisons throughout their whole country. In short, Tartary, instead of becoming the seat of government, is the place of banishment for the guilty, who are sent thither with their families to people those vast deserts, that their children who are born there may be accustomed to hardships, and lose the softness and pusillanimity of the Chinese, in the rougher temper and manners of the Tartars. But beneficial as this conquest of China by the Tartars has been to the empire, and notwithstanding it was effected in a short time, and without much bloodshed or commotion, yet whilst that event was taking

taking place, and immediately after it, great numbers of Chinese fled their country and settled in foreign parts, filling not only the Philippine but the Molucca and Sunda islands with an ingenious and industrious people, who brought with them, and diffused into all these countries, the skill of manufactures and the spirit of commerce: so that the conquest of China had nearly the same effect in the eastern part of Asia which the revocation of the edict of Nantz had in Europe. *See* Vol. I. page 195.

Kang-hi succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Tsing-te, who had reigned eighteen years. During sixty years, for so long he possessed the throne, his kingdom flourished. On his death he was succeeded by his fourth son Yong-ching, in 1722, who lived to the year 1736. In 1731, a dreadful earthquake overthrew the city of Pekin. The most remarkable event in this reign was the severity with which the Christians were treated, at the same time that the Jesuits received distinguishing marks of the royal favour.

Of the history of China, and the succession of emperors, for the last forty years, we have no certain accounts. The only Europeans who resort to Pekin are the Russians, who carry on a very lucrative inland trade with the empire, particularly in furs, which are obtained from Kamptschatka, some islands between the continents of Asia and America, and the western coast of the latter continent. The English and Americans have of late years brought furs to Canton, which have found as good market there.

The reigning emperor of China was born on the 17th of September 1710; he is named, according to some writers, *Kam-hi*. When Lord Macartney was introduced in 1793, this prince had reigned 57 years.

GOVERNMENT.] The emperor is an absolute monarch, and the respect paid to him is a kind of adoration; his commands are as readily, and as strictly obeyed as if they came from heaven; nor are any admitted to speak to him but on their knees; not even his eldest brother, unless it be at his command. None except the lords who attend him are allowed to stand in his presence; but when they speak to him, they put only one knee to the ground.

The officers receive the same honours when they represent the emperor's person, and give his orders, either as mandarines of the presence, or as envoys. His governors also receive the same honours when they administer justice, because they are his representatives. Indeed such respect is paid to the emperor, that the princes of the blood, and all the grandees of the court, not only kneel before him, but before his chair, his throne, his clothes, and every thing made for his particular use.

Persons of the highest rank are not allowed to ride on horseback, or to pass in a chaise before the gates of his palace, but are obliged to alight at a place appointed for that purpose. If the emperor falls dangerously ill, it creates a general alarm; the mandarines assemble in one of the courts of the palace, and pass whole days and nights, without regard

gard to the inclemency of the air or the rigour of the season, imploring heaven on their bended knees to restore his health.

Yellow is the imperial colour, and none are allowed to wear it but the emperor and those who attend his person. His vest is adorned with dragons that have five claws: this is his coat of arms, which none else must bear. He has the disposal of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, nor can any criminal suffer death till he has confirmed the sentence.

The princes of the blood are allowed a palace and a court, and have a revenue agreeable to their rank. They are obliged to live at court, but have not the least degree of power. The emperor alone disposes of all places in the empire. He nominates the viceroys and governors, and displaces them at his pleasure. He chooses which of his sons he pleases for his successor; and if he prefers to the eldest one of more distinguished merit, he gains great popularity.

In order to preserve their reputation, the emperors are continually inquiring into the state of the empire, affecting a kind of paternal care for their people; particularly when any of the provinces are afflicted with calamities, the emperor shuts himself up in his palace, abstains from all pleasures, and publishes decrees to ease such provinces of their usual taxes.

The seals of the empire are important ensigns of the imperial authority, and are applied to authorize

all public acts. The emperor's seal is near eight inches square, and is a very fine Jasper; a precious stone so highly esteemed in China, that none but the emperor is allowed to use it. The honorary seals given to the princes of the blood are of gold; those of the viceroy, great mandarines, or magistrates of the first order, are of silver; while those of the inferior mandarines are either of brass or lead, and are larger or smaller, according to the dignity of those magistrates.

These seals are carried before the mandarines when they perform any ceremony, or visit persons to whom they would shew respect; they are then deposited in a gold box, placed upon a kind of litter, supported by two men, who walk before the chair of the mandarine.

The revenues of the emperor are amazingly great; but it is not easy to give an exact account of them, because the annual tribute is paid partly in money and partly in commodities; it particularly arises from the produce of the lands, as, rice, wheat, and millet from salt, silks; stuffs, linen, cotton, with innumerable other articles. All these, together with the customs and forfeited estates, annually amount to above twenty-one millions sterling. Osbeck says, that a poll-tax is levied on each person in China from the age of twenty to that of sixty, and he makes the number from whom it is collected to amount to fifty-eight millions.

The troops constantly kept in pay amount to above seven hundred thousand soldiers; these are

ſtationed near the great wall, and other fortified places; a part of theſe alſo compoſe the emperor's guards, and thoſe of the mandarines, whom they eſcort on their journies, and at night keep watch about their barks or at their inns. Near five hundred and ſixty-five thouſand horſes are likewiſe maintained to remount the cavalry; and for the uſe of the poſts and couriers who convey the king's orders, and thoſe of the tribunals, into the provinces.

The Abbé Groſier ſpeaks very particularly concerning the military ſtate of this empire. No troops he ſays are better paid, better clothed, or better armed: but they have leſs diſcipline than the European troops, and are totally deficient in courage. According to Raynal, the art of war is one of the arts in which the Chineſe have made the leaſt progreſs. "It is natural to imagine," continues that writer, "that a nation, whoſe whole conduct is influenced by ceremonies, precepts, and cuſtoms, either of private or public inſtitution, ſhould of courſe be pliant, moderate, and inclined to tranquillity and peace. The ſpirit of humanity which they imbibe in their tender years, makes them look with abhorrence on thoſe ſanguinary ſcenes of rapine and maſſacre, that are ſo familiar to nations where the hero and the warrior are formed. When a nation poſſeſſes the art of ſubduing its conquerors by its manners, it has no occaſion to overcome its enemies by force of arms." *Hiſt. Pol. liv.* I. Groſier obſerves, that the military profeſſion is here held in little eſtimation. The foot ſoldier is armed with a pike and

a ſabre)

a sabre; some have firelocks, and others a bow and arrow. The arms of the cavalry consist of an helmet, a breast-plate, a lance, and a large sabre. The pay of a foot soldier is five sous of fine silver, or two pence English, and a measure of rice a day. The horsemen have ten sous and two measures of beans, beside arrears, which are paid every two months. The best soldiers of the empire are drawn from the three northern provinces. If the use of artillery was ever known in ancient times, it was totally lost at the commencement of the last century. Grosier says, there are still to be seen at Nanking three or four mortars, but not a single Chinese could be found to use them. In the year 1621 the city of Macao presented three pieces of cannon to the emperor, but it was necessary to send three men to manage them. Afterward Father Adam Schaal, a Jesuit missionary, first instructed the Chinese in the management of cannon; another Jesuit named Verbiest, superintended, by order of the emperor, a foundry, from which they were supplied with upward of three hundred pieces of artillery. The same father likewise instructed them in the art of fortification, and introduced among the Chinese the modern European rules of architecture. *Description general de la Chine par abbé Grosier.*

The emperor possesses the right of making peace and war, and he may conclude treaties upon what conditions he pleases, provided they are not dishonourable to the empire.

To check, however, in some measure, this unlimited

limited power, every mandarine is permitted to tell him his faults, provided it be done with all that submission and humility that is agreeable to the veneration and profound respect which is ever paid to him. Here the mandarine who observes any thing in the emperor's conduct inconsistent with the constitution of the empire, draws up a request, where, having expressed his profound respect for his sovereign, he most humbly beseeches him to reflect upon the ancient laws and good examples of the great princes his predecessors, and then takes notice in what instances he apprehends the emperor has deviated from them. This request lies upon a table among many other petitions that are daily presented, and which the emperor is obliged to read. If upon this he does not change his conduct, he is again admonished as often as the mandarine's zeal and courage will permit him to do it; for they cannot, without great danger, in this manner expose themselves to his resentment.

But the manner in which their histories are written, is alone sufficient to keep within bounds any prince who has the least regard for posthumous fame. A certain number of men, who are chosen on account of their learning and impartiality, remark, with all possible exactness, not only all the prince's actions, but even his words; and each of these persons takes minutes of every thing that passes, without communicating his observations to the rest, and puts the papers, contain-

ing

ing his remarks, through a chink, into an office ſet apart for that purpoſe.

Thus they ſet down every thing that occurs in each reign; but that neither fear on the one hand, nor hope on the other, may bias them to be partial in the account they give of the emperor, this office is never opened during the prince's life, or while any of his family ſit on the throne. When the crown paſſes into another line, or *dynaſty*, all theſe looſe memoirs are gathered together, and after being compared, they form the materials which compoſe the hiſtory of that emperor: if he has acted wiſely, he is propoſed as an example to poſterity; or if he has been negligent of his duty, and acted inconſiſtently with the good of the people, he is held up to public cenſure.

Here are two ſovereign councils; one, called the extraordinary council, which is compoſed of princes of the blood; the other, called the council in ordinary, has, beſide the princes, ſeveral miniſters of ſtate named colaos, who examine all ſtate-affairs, and make their report to the emperor, who gives directions accordingly.

The pomp with which he goes to make his offerings in the temple of Tien is very extraordinary. The proceſſion begins with twenty-four drums ranked in two files, and twenty-four trumpets formed of a wood greatly eſteemed by the Chineſe. After them follow twenty-four men in a line, armed with red

ſtaves

ſtaves ſeven or eight feet long, varniſhed and adorned with gilt foliages. Next to theſe are a hundred ſoldiers carrying halberts, the iron part of which terminates in a creſcent. Then follow an hundred men with red maces ornamented with flowers, and gilt at the end. Then advance four hundred very fine lanterns; four hundred flambeaux, conſiſting of wood which burns a long time, and yields a great light; two hundred men with ſpears, ſome adorned with tufts of ſilk of various colours, others with the tails of foxes, leopards, and other animals; twenty-four banners, on which are painted the ſigns of the zodiac, which the Chineſe divide into twelve parts; fifty-ſix other banners, whereon are repreſented the fifty-ſix conſtellations, to which the Chineſe reduce all the ſtars; two hundred fans, on which are painted various figures of dragons, birds, and other animals; theſe are ſupported by long gilt ſticks: twenty-four umbrellas richly adorned, and a beaufet ſupported by the officers of the kitchen, and furniſhed with gold utenſils, ſuch as ewers, baſons, &c. Then appears the emperor on horſeback, richly dreſſed, and on each ſide is held a magnificent umbrella, large enough to ſhade both him and his horſe: he is ſurrounded with ten led horſes; theſe are always white, with the ſaddles and bridles enriched with gold and jewels; and alſo by a hundred ſpearmen, and pages of the bed-chamber.

After them the princes of the blood, the reguloes, the chief mandarines, and the lords of the court, appear

pear in the same order, and in their proper habits; together with five hundred young gentlemen belonging to the palace richly clad, followed by a thousand footmen in red gowns bordered with flowers, and stars of gold and silver; immediately after thirty-six men carry an open chair, followed by another that is much larger and close, supported by a hundred and twenty chairmen; then appear four large waggons, two of which are drawn by elephants, and two by horses covered with embroidered housings: every chariot and chair is followed by a company of fifty men to guard it. This procession is closed by two thousand mandarines of letters, and two thousand mandarines of arms, or officers of war, richly dressed in their proper habits. The same order is always invariably observed.

NOBILITY.] None but those who belong to the reigning family have any title of distinction; these possess the rank of princes, in whose favour five honorary degrees of nobility are established, much like those of dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, and barons, in Europe. These titles are granted to the children of the emperor, and to those whom he gives his daughters in marriage; who have revenues assigned them equal to their dignity, but not the least power. When the founder of the present Tartarian family was settled on the throne, he conferred on his brothers, who were numerous, and had contributed by their valour to the conquest of many countries, several titles of honour, to which the Europeans have

have given the appellation of reguloes, or princes of the first, second, and third rank, and it was then determined, that from among the children of every regulo one should be chosen to succeed his father in the same dignity.

The emperor also creates others of an inferior sort, which are bestowed on such of the other children as are most worthy. But though those of the fourth and fifth ranks are above the greatest mandarine in the empire, they have nothing to distinguish themselves from the mandarines, either in their habits or equipage, except their wearing the yellow girdle, which is common to all the princes of the blood, as well those that possess dignities as those who have none; but the latter hide it, and are ashamed to let it be seen, when their circumstances will not permit them to have an equipage suitable to their birth.

These princes of the royal blood are allowed a palace and a court, with officers, and a revenue suitable to their rank; but have not the least authority over the people. All the princes live at court, and have houses and lands, beside the revenue they receive from the emperor.

But the family esteemed the most noble in all China is that of the celebrated Confucius, of whom we shall give some account in treating of the religion of the Chinese. The honours conferred on that great man have been continued in a direct line for more than two thousand years in the person and descendants

ſcendants of one of his nephews, who is called "The nephew of the Great or Wiſe Man."

The emperor ſometimes beſtows titles of honour upon perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, and gives them for five, ſix, or more generations, in proportion to the ſervices they have done the public. Sometimes, when a perſon has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner, the emperor not only beſtows on him theſe titles, but by diſtinct patents extends them to the father and mother, the grandfather and the grandmother of him he has honoured: or rather he beſtows upon each a particular title of honour in acknowledgment of the care they have taken in the education of a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed merit. All his relations are ſo proud of the dignity, that they cauſe it to be written in ſeveral parts of their houſes, and even upon the lanterns that are carried before them when they walk in the evening, which infallibly procures them great reſpect.

Except the family of Confucius, and the princes related to the reigning family, no perſon in China is noble, any farther than his merit is rewarded by the emperor; for every one is of the rank to which he adjudges him worthy, and all the reſt are numbered among the general maſs of the people.

The mandarines, who are the governors of provinces and cities, and, according to their different ranks, enjoy all the poſts under the government, are choſen for their proficiency in learning. But the children even of thoſe who enjoy the higheſt offices under

under the emperor, are in danger of ſinking to the rank of the vulgar, and are often obliged to follow the meaneſt profeſſions. The ſon of a mandarine may ſucceed to his father's wealth, but not to his dignity or reputation: he muſt riſe by the ſame ſteps as thoſe by which his father roſe; and by applying himſelf to ſtudy, be, like him, advanced on account of his learning.

There are at Pekin ſix ſovereign courts, whoſe authority extends over all the provinces of China, each of which has different matters under its juriſdiction.

The firſt ſupreme court, called "the tribunal of the mandarines," preſides over all the mandarines, watches over their conduct, and examines their good and bad qualities, that they may be rewarded or degraded by the emperor according to their deſerts.

The ſecond, called "the royal treaſury," has the care of the treaſure, expences, and revenues of the emperor, and of raiſing the ſupplies.

The third ſupreme court, named "the tribunal of rights," hath the ſuperintendance of all ceremonies, of arts and ſciences, of the imperial muſic, and its officers, and examines thoſe who are candidates for degrees.

The fourth ſupreme court, called "the tribunal of arms," has the management of the ſoldiery of the whole empire, and of all the fortreſſes, arſenals, and magazines of arms, and in general of every thing neceſſary for the defence and ſecurity of the empire.

 To

To the fifth supreme court belongs the examination of criminals, in order to judge and sentence them as the laws require.

The sixth and last supreme court, called "the tribunal of public works," has the inspection of all public buildings, and the palaces of the emperor, princes of the blood, and viceroys. It has likewise the superintendance of the triumphal arches, towers, bridges, rivers, canals, lakes, streets, and highways.

Each of these courts is divided into several offices, the principal of which is managed by a president and two assistants, who have the final inspection of all that comes under the notice of that court; and the rest are under officers, consisting of a president and several counsellors, all subject to the president of the principal office.

As there might be reason to apprehend, that bodies invested with such power would gradually weaken the imperial authority, the laws have prevented this inconvenience, by making it necessary for each of these courts to have the assistance of another to put its decisions in execution; as, for instance, the army is subject to the fourth supreme court, which is that of war, but the payment of the troops belongs to the second; and the arms, tents, and waggons, come under the cognizance of the sixth court; so that no military enterprize can be put in execution without the concurrence of these different courts.

To prevent the unjust and iniquitous practices that might take place in any of these courts, there is an

officer

officer in each, who attends to all their proceedings, and, though he is not of the council, is present at all their assemblies. His office obliges him to give private information to the emperor of the faults committed by the mandarines, not only in the administration of public affairs, but in their private conduct: they even admonish the emperor himself when he stands in need of it. These public censors are extremely dreaded, and the very princes of the blood stand in awe of them.

The mandarines are nominated by the emperor, and consists of all on whom he bestows any authority in the provinces. They are governed by two general officers, on whom all the rest depend. One is the viceroy of a single province, and the other has two, and sometimes three, provinces subject to him. They are both at the head of a supreme tribunal in the province, where all important affairs are decided, and to them the emperor sends his orders, while they take care to transmit them to all the cities in their district.

The cities are of three different orders, and have also their governors and several mandarines who administer justice. There are likewise mandarines that have the care of the posts, with the royal inns and barks in their district. Others have the inspection of the army; others take care of the rivers: others oversee the repairing of the high roads, and the employment of others is to visit the sea-coasts. They have also power to punish criminals, and are a

kind of ſubſtitutes of the ſix ſupreme tribunals of the court.

All the mandarines are extremely fond of the enſigns of their office, by which they are diſtinguiſhed not only from the common people, but from all others of the learned, eſpecially thoſe of an inferior rank. This mark of their dignity conſiſts in a piece of ſquare ſtuff, which they wear upon their breaſts, and which is richly embroidered with a device peculiar to their office. Some have a dragon with four claws; others an eagle, or a ſun; and the mandarines of arms bear lions, tygers, leopards, &c.

There is an abſolute dependence between the ſeveral powers which govern the empire. The moſt inconſiderable mandarine regulates every thing within the extent of his diſtrict, but depends on other mandarines, whoſe power is greater, but are dependent on the general officers of every province, as theſe latter are on the tribunals of the imperial city, and the preſidents of the ſupreme courts, who keep all other mandarines in awe, while they themſelves tremble before the emperor, in whom reſides the imperial power.

The eaſe with which a ſingle mandarine governs the people is ſurpriſing: he only publiſhes his orders on a ſmall piece of paper ſealed with his ſeal, and fixed up in places where the ſtreets croſs, and he is inſtantly obeyed. This proceeds from the extraordinary veneration paid him by the people. He ſeldom appears in public without a majeſtic train; he is

is richly dressed, and is carried in summer by four men in an open gilded chair, which in winter is covered with silk, and is attended by all the officers of the tribunal, some carrying whips, others long staves, or iron chains, the noise of which makes the people tremble, for they are naturally timid, and know that they cannot escape correction if they venture to disobey his commands. Hence whenever he appears, the people in the streets shew their respect, not by bowing, which would be thought a culpable familiarity, but by retiring on one side, standing upright with their arms hanging down; and in this posture, which they esteem the most respectful, they continue till the mandarine has passed by.

Nothing can equal the ostentatious parade with which a viceroy appears in public; for as the Chinese are particularly distinguished by their love of shew, it is not very surprising that so great an officer should appear with all imaginable pomp.

As the mandarines of cities and towns are appointed to protect the people, they must always be ready to hear their complaints. In an urgent affair they go to the mandarine's palace, and beat upon a kind of kettle-drum, which is sometimes on the side of the hall of justice, but generally out of the palace, that the people may sound it either by night or day. At this signal the mandarine, however engaged, is obliged immediately to grant the audience that is demanded; but whoever gives an alarm, unless upon

ſome urgent or weighty matter, is ſure to receive the baſtinado.

One of the principal offices of the mandarines is to instruct the people as the repreſentatives of the emperor, who is conſidered as their common father; and therefore, on the firſt and fifteenth of every month, they aſſemble the people, and give them a kind of ſermon on all the ſocial and relative duties.

To prevent commotions among the people when they groan under oppreſſion, the leaſt diſturbance which happens in a province is imputed to the viceroy, and if it is not immediately appeaſed, he is inevitably removed from his office.

The laws preſcribe, that no perſon ſhall enjoy the office of mandarine of the people, either in the city where he was born, or even in the province where his family has been uſed to reſide; and generally he does not poſſeſs the ſame office many years in the ſame place before he is removed. By this means he cannot contract any friendſhip with the people of the country, ſo as to render him partial; and not being acquainted with the mandarines that govern with him, he has the leſs reaſon to ſhew them favour. If he receives an employment in a province joining to his own, he muſt live at leaſt fifty leagues from it. This regulation is founded on the ſuppoſition that if he exerciſed an office in his own country, he might be troubled with the ſolicitations of his neighbours and friends, and would probably be biaſſed in his judgment, and do injuſtice to ſome perſons; or might be influenced

influenced by a principle of revenge against those who had injured him or his relations.

This scrupulosity they carry so far, that they will not allow a son, a brother, or a nephew, to be a subordinate mandarine where his father, brother, or uncle, are superior mandarines, lest they should favour each other, and either tolerate or wink at their faults.

Every three years a general review is made of all the mandarines of the empire, when each superior mandarine inquires into the conduct of the inferior, and gives notes to every one containing praises or censures. For instance, the chief mandarine of a city of the third order has under him three or four petty mandarines, to whom he gives notes, and sends them to a mandarine of a city of the second order on whom he depends: the latter, who has under him several mandarines who govern cities of the third order, examines these notes, and either agrees to what is inserted, or adds other circumstances, according to his knowledge. When the mandarine of the city of the second order has received the notes from all the mandarines of the cities of the third order, he gives his note to them, and sends a catalogue of all the mandarines in his district to the general mandarines of the province, who reside at the capital. This catalogue passes through their hands to the viceroy's, who having examined it in private, and afterward with the four general mandarines, sends it to court

with his own remarks, that the chief tribunal may be fully acquainted with the conduct of all the mandarines of the empire, in order that they may be rewarded or punished according to their deserts.

In giving such notes, they write under the name and title of their mandarinate, that he is greedy of money, too severe in his punishments, or is too old to perform his office; or, that he is proud, of a capricious temper, &c.

When all the notes are arrived at Pekin, the chief tribunal examines them, and sends them back to the viceroy, after setting down the reward or punishment appointed for each mandarine. Those who have unfavourable notes are deprived of their offices, and those who are commended are raised to a superior mandarinate.

But as the general officers might be bribed by the governors of the cities, and thus connive at the injustice of those who oppress the people, the emperor from time to time sends inspectors into the provinces, who go into the cities and into the tribunals, while the mandarines give audience, and secretly inquire of the people how they behave in their offices; and if he finds any irregularity, he discovers the insigns of his dignity, declaring himself the emperor's envoy: he then immediately brings to trial the guilty mandarines, and punishes them as the laws require; or, if the injustice be not notorious, sends his informations to court, there to have the sentence pronounced.

These

These inspectors of provinces are supposed to be possessed of the greatest integrity; yet as they may be tempted to enrich themselves at the expence of the guilty, whose injustice they may overlook, to keep them upon their guard, the emperor frequently visits some of his provinces in person, in order to hear the complaints of the people against their governors; and those visits are much dreaded by the mandarines.

In short nothing could exceed the order established by the Chinese law, if the mandarines strictly adhered to it; but this is far from being the case; for they are not very scrupulous in violating the laws of justice and humanity in order to serve their private interest. There are no artifices to which the inferior officers have not recourse to deceive the superior mandarines; and among the latter some endeavour to impose upon the supreme tribunals of the court, and even to mislead the emperor himself. Indeed they so artfully conceal their passions, and affect in their memorials such an air of disinterestedness, that it is very difficult for the prince to discover the true character of his servants under such specious blandishments.

Beside, as their salaries are not always sufficient to maintain their pomp and luxury, the acts of injustice they commit, provided they are secret, are attended with no hazard. Ministers of state and the chief presidents of the supreme courts sometimes privately extort money from the viceroys of provinces, and those again, to indemnify themselves, op-

press

prefs the fubordinate officers, and thefe laft reimburfe themfelves by their exactions upon the people. No crimes, when they are difcovered, pafs unpunifhed in China; the baftinado is the common punifhment for flight faults, and the number of blows is proportioned to the nature of the offence: when thefe do not exceed twenty, it is efteemed a fatherly correction, and is not infamous. The emperor fometimes commands it to be inflicted on great perfons, and yet afterward behaves to them as he was wont.

A fmall tranfgreffion will incur this correction, as, foul language, or fighting with the fifts; for if thefe things reach the mandarine's ears, he immediately caufes the parties to be baftinadoed; which being done, they muft kneel before him, bow their bodies three times to the earth, and thank him for the care he takes of their education.

This punifhment is performed with a fplit bamboo, which is a wood that is hard, ftrong, and heavy: the lower part is as broad as a man's hand, and the upper fmooth and fmall, that it may be eafily managed. The criminal is laid down with his face to the ground, his drawers are pulled over his heels, and the ftripes are given over his bare pofteriors.

A mandarine may caufe this punifhment to be inflicted wherever he is; it is fufficient for one of the poor vulgar not to difmount from his horfe when a mandarine paffes by, or to crofs the ftreet in his prefence, to receive five or fix blows by his order, which is performed with fuch expedition, that it is often

often done before those who are present perceive any thing of the matter. Masters use the same correction to their scholars, fathers to their children, and noblemen to their domestics, only the battoon in such cases is less....

The wooden collar is a more infamous punishment than the bastinado. It is composed of two pieces of wood hollowed in the middle for the neck, and when fastened there, the person bearing it can neither see his feet nor put his hand to his mouth; so that his food must be given him by the hand of another. This unwieldy load he carries day and night: it is lighter or heavier according to the nature of the offence. Some of these collars weigh two hundred pounds, and some are three feet square, and five or six inches thick; the common sort weigh fifty or sixty pounds.

When these two pieces of wood are joined about the criminal's neck, in the presence of the mandarine, the executioner pastes on each side two long slips of paper, on which he fixes a seal, that the two pieces may not be separated without its being perceived: then the crime for which the punishment is inflicted, and the time it is to last, are written in large characters. For instance, if the culprit be a thief, a seditious person, a gamester, or a disturber of the peace of families, he must wear it three months. They are generally exposed in some public place; but the criminals find various ways to ease themselves; some walk in company with their relations

and

and friends, who ſupport the four corners that it may not gall their ſhoulders; others have a chair to ſupport the four corners, and ſo ſit tolerably eaſy; and ſome kneel down, and place one edge upon the ground.

At the expiration of the time of puniſhment, the criminal is brought back to the mandarine, who, having exhorted him to behave better for the future, releaſes him from the collar; and, to take his leave of him, orders him twenty ſtrokes with the battoon; for the Chineſe never inflict any puniſhment, except a pecuniary one, which is not preceded and followed by the baſtinado.

There are ſome crimes for which the criminals are marked on the cheek with a Chineſe character, ſignifying their offence. There are others for which they are ſentenced to draw the imperial barks; and there are others for which they are condemned to baniſhment.

There are three ways of puniſhing with death, of which ſtrangling is looked upon as moſt honourable: this is frequently done by a bow-ſtring. In ſome places they put a cord of ſeven or eight feet long, with a running knot round the criminal's neck. Two ſervants belonging to the tribunal draw it hard at each end, then looſe it a moment, and drawing it again the ſecond time, diſpatch the criminal.

Another kind of puniſhment is extremely cruel: this is inflicted on rebels and traitors, on a ſon who ſtrikes his father; and on mercileſs robbers. It is called

called "cutting in ten thousand pieces." The executioner fastens the criminal to a post; then fleaing the skin off his head, pulls it over his eyes, and afterward mangles him by cutting pieces from all parts of his body; and when he is weary of this barbarous exercise, he delivers him to the cruelty of the populace.

The other punishment is beheading; which is inflicted for crimes of great enormity, as murder, and is looked upon as very shameful, because the head, which is the principal part of man, is separated from the body; and because in dying they do not preserve the human form as entire as it was when they received it from their parents. The party condemned to suffer this punishment, is not, on the day of execution, exposed on a scaffold, but being made to kneel in some public place, with his hands tied behind him, a person holds him so fast that he cannot move, while the executioner coming behind, takes off his head at one stroke, and at the same time lays him on his back with such dexterity, that not a drop of blood falls on his clothes, which on that occasion are generally better than ordinary: for his relations and friends, though ashamed to own him in those unhappy circumstances, usually send him new clothes, and cause provisions and drink to be offered him by the way.

The executioner is commonly a soldier; and his office is so far from being scandalous, that at Pekin he accompanies the criminal girt with a sash of yel-

low

low ſilk, and his cutlaſs is wrapped in ſilk of the ſame colour, to ſhew that he is veſted with the emperor's authority.

Thoſe who ſuffer death by decapitation are alſo ſentenced to be deprived of common burial, which in China is conſidered as dreadfully infamous; the executioner therefore, after having ſtripped the body, throws it into the next ditch.

If the criminal happens to have wealthy relations who regard him, they frequently buy the body at a great price from the executioner, and ſew on the head again with abundance of lamentations.

The ordinary torture made uſe of in China to extort confeſſion from perſons accuſed of crimes is extremely painful, and is inflicted on the feet and hands: an inſtrument is applied to the feet which conſiſts of three pieces of wood, one of which is fixed, and the other two move and turn upon it. The feet of the criminal being put in this machine are ſqueezed ſo violently, that the ankle bones are frequently flattened by the preſſure. Between the criminal's fingers they alſo place pieces of wood, and tying them very hard with cords, leave him for ſome time in this torment.

RELIGION.] The religion of China is two-fold. One as ancient as the empire itſelf, and probably introduced by its founders: the other of much later date, and derived from India, not long after the birth of Chriſt. The latter has idols, temples, ſacrifices, prieſts, monks, feſtivals, and many exter-

nal

ral rites and ceremonies; the former is exempt from all these, and is, perhaps, as artless and simple as any religion that was ever taught in the world. It prescribes reverence to an invisible Being, residing in the visible heaven, and distributing thence happiness and misery among mankind; but it enjoins no particular worship to him: so that temples, priests, assemblies, sacrifices, and rites, are things entirely foreign to it. In this religion there is no term for God; and in an imperial edict, published in the year 1710, it is said, "It is not to the visible and material heaven that we offer our adoration, but to the Lord of heaven." The emperor alone, at certain times, offers a sacrifice to this powerful Being, in the name of his people. The emperor, who is sole pontiff, is likewise the only judge in religious matters.

The latter religion, or that idolatry which was introduced by *Fo*, or *Foe*, a celebrated Indian impostor, has many adherents among the lower ranks of people, but is only tolerated in the state. The wise men, and those of distinction, profess the old morality, which is the national religion, protected by the laws of the empire, and preached by the emperor himself.

This ancient religion maintained, that, as well for the preservation of order as to maintain purity of manners, those who command should imitate the conduct of Tien, in treating their inferiors as their

 children;

children; and those who obey ought to consider their superiors as their fathers.

The religion of China is comprehended in some ancient and valuable books, which they call "the Five Volumes;" it appears from one of these ancient books, that this Tien, the object of public worship, is the principle of all things, the father of the people, independent, almighty, omniscient; to whom the secrets of the heart are fully known, and who watches over the conduct of the universe.

Fohi, who was one of the heads of the colony which came to settle in this part of the east, and is acknowledged to be the founder of the Chinese monarchy, gave public marks of his profound veneration for the Supreme Being. Chinnong, Fohi's successor, added to these sacrifices two offerings at the equinoxes.

His successors, in general, followed his example; and it is asserted by the Chinese writers, that for the space of two thousand years the nation acknowledged, reverenced, and honoured with sacrifices the Supreme Being and Sovereign Lord of the universe.

At length the troubles which arose in the empire, the civil wars which distracted it, and the corruption of manners which became almost universal, had very nearly suppressed the ancient doctrine, when Confucius arose and revived it.

This great philosopher made a collection of the most

moſt excellent maxims of the ancients, which he adhered to himſelf, and taught to the people. He preached up a ſevere morality, and endeavoured to prevail upon men to contemn riches and worldly pleaſures, and to eſteem temperance, juſtice, and other virtues: he ſtrove to inſpire them with ſuch magnanimity as to be proof againſt the frowns of princes, and with a ſincerity incapable of the leaſt diſguiſe. The thing moſt to be admired is, that he preached more by his example than by his words, whence he reaped conſiderable fruits from his labours; kings were governed by his counſels, and the people reverenced him as a ſaint. Yet he frequently met with reverſes of fortune, which obliged him to travel from province to province, and he was often reduced to ſuch extremities, as to be in danger of periſhing by hunger.

He ſent ſix hundred of his diſciples into different places of the empire to reform the manners of the people, and uſed frequently to ſay, "It is in the Weſt where the true ſaint is found." This ſentence was ſo imprinted in the minds of the learned, that ſixty-four years after the birth of Chriſt, the emperor Ming-ti ſent ambaſſadors into the Weſt, with ſtrict orders to continue their journey till they ſhould meet this ſaint. Other authors aſſert, that he was induced to ſend theſe ambaſſadors, from a dream which reminded him of this ſentence of Confucius.

This philoſopher ſeems to have carried the religion of nature as far as unaſſiſted reaſon could poſ-

ſibly reach. After his death he was revered by the greateſt part of the nation as an eminent ſaint, as a meſſenger inſpired and ſent by heaven to inſtruct mankind, and almoſt as a god; but interpreters ſoon aroſe, who explained away the ſimplicity and purity of his doctrine, and, by introducing idle diſtinctions and ſuperſtitious obſervances, by perverting and wreſting his meaning as well as by giving falſe interpretations of the ancient books, they deſtroyed the worſhip due to the Supreme Being, and formed a ſyſtem of religion and philoſophy equally impious and abſurd. This is now the religion of the learned, who, while they pay homage to the memory of Confucius, are far from following his precepts or imitating the innocence and ſanctity of his life. Yet though the purity of doctrine is not retained, the memory of their great teacher is ſtill held in the higheſt reverence by the Chineſe, and the emperors have even ordered that the literati ſhould annually celebrate a feſtival to his honour.

The author of the ſect of Taoſſe was born two years before Confucius: his name was Laokiun, and his diſciples pretend, that he did not come into the world till forty years after his conception. His books, which are ſtill extant, are ſuppoſed to be much diſguiſed by his followers; though there are ſtill many ſentiments worthy of a moral philoſopher.

Of the ſect of Fo, or Foë, the origin is as follows: The ambaſſadors ſent to the weſt, as already mentioned, having tranſported the idol Fo into China, and

and with it a corruption of the fables with which the Indian books are filled, that religion ſpread through the empire.

Fo lived and died in India, where he was firſt worſhipped as a god, and his doctrines ſpread through all the Eaſt. The Chineſe as well as Japaneſe call his prieſts *Bonzes*; the Tartars, *Lamas*; the Siameſe, *Talapoins*. His diſciples did not fail to diſperſe a great number of fables after his death, and eaſily perſuaded the ſimple and credulous, that their maſter had been born eight thouſand times; that his ſoul had ſucceſſively paſſed through different animals, and that he had appeared in the figure of an ape, a dragon, an elephant, &c. Thus this pretended god was worſhipped under the ſhape of various animals, and the Chineſe built ſeveral temples to many different idols.

The bonzes of China ſay there is a great difference between good and evil, and that after death the good will be rewarded and the wicked puniſhed; that man ought not to kill any living creature, or take what belongs to others; not to be guilty of impurity; to forbear lying, and to drink no wine. But eſpecially they muſt be kind to the bonzes, procure them the neceſſaries of life, build them monaſteries and temples, that by their prayers and penances the ſins of the people may be expiated. "At the funeral obſequies of your relations," ſay they, "burn gilt and ſilver paper, and garments made of ſilk, and theſe in the other world ſhall be changed into gold,

ſilver, and rich habits: by this means your departed relations will enjoy every thing neceſſary, and be able to reconcile the eighteen guardians of the infernal regions, who without theſe bribes would be inexorable. If you neglect theſe commands you muſt expect nothing after death but to become a prey to the moſt cruel torments; while your ſoul, by a long ſucceſſion of tranſmigrations, ſhall paſs into the vileſt animals, and you appear in the form of a mule, a horſe, a dog, a rat, or ſome more contemptible creature."

The many Chineſe who believe the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls are the dupes of the bonzes: theſe prieſts find this opinion of great uſe in raiſing charitable contributions, and enlarging their revenues; and from this they find means to practiſe many frauds upon the people. Le Compte ſays, that two of theſe bonzes, ſeeing in the yard of a rich peaſant two or three large ducks, proſtrated themſelves on their faces before the door, ſighing and weeping bitterly. The good woman ſeeing them from her chamber window, came down to learn the cauſe of their grief. "We know," ſaid they, "that the ſouls of our fathers have paſſed into the bodies of thoſe creatures, and our fear leſt you ſhould kill them will certainly make us die with grief." "I own," ſaid the women, "we intended to ſell them, but ſince they are your fathers, I promiſe to keep them." This was not what the bonzes wanted. "But," continued they, "perhaps your huſband will not be ſo charitable, and then

if

if any accident should happen to them, you may be sure it will kill us." At length, after a long discourse, the good woman was so far moved with their pretended grief, that she committed the ducks to their care. They took them with great respect, prostrated themselves before them twenty times; but that very evening made a feast of them for some of their society.

The bonzes are of different degrees; for beside those employed in collecting alms, a smaller number of them gain the knowledge of books, speak politely, and employ themselves in visiting the learned, and insinuating themselves into the favour of the mandarines. Though they have not a regular hierarchy, they have their superiors, whom they call "great bonzes," and this rank adds to the reputation they have acquired by their age, gravity, meekness, and hypocrisy.

In every province are certain mountains on which are idol temples that have greater credit than the rest. The people go far in pilgrimage to them, and when they are at the foot of those mountains, prostrate themselves at every step they take in ascending. Those who cannot go on pilgrimage, desire some of their friends to purchase, from the bonzes, a large printed sheet. In the middle of the sheet is the figure of the god *Fo*, and upon his garment, and round about it, are a multitude of small circles. The devotees also hang on their necks, and round their arms, a kind of bracelet composed of an hundred

 beads,

beads, and eight large ones. On the top is one of an extraordinary ſize. When they turn theſe beads upon their fingers, they pronounce theſe myſterious words, *O mi to Fo*, the ſignification of which they themſelves do not underſtand. They make above an hundred genufluxions, and then draw one of theſe red circles upon the paper. From time to time they invite the bonzes to come to the temple to pray, and to authenticate by their ſeal the number of circles they have drawn. This they carry in a pompous manner to funerals, in a ſmall box ſealed up by the bonzes, and call it a paſſport for travelling from this life to the next. This paſſport coſts them a conſiderable ſum; but they ſay they ought not to complain of the expence, becauſe they are ſure of a happy journey.

In ſome cities are ſeveral ſocieties of ladies, who are commonly of a good family, and advanced in years, and conſequently have money to diſpoſe of. They are ſuperiors of the ſociety in turns, and it is generally at the ſuperior's houſe that the aſſemblies are held. Whenever they meet, a bonze, pretty well advanced in years, is preſident of the aſſembly, and ſings hymns to the god Fo; the devotees join in the concert, and after having ſeveral times cried *O mi to Fo*, and beaten ſome ſmall kettles, they ſit down to table and regale themſelves.

On ſolemn days they adorn the houſe with idols placed in order by the bonzes, and in groteſque paintings repreſent the torments of hell. The pray-

ers

ers and feaſt laſt ſeven days, during which their principal care is to prepare and conſecrate treaſures for the other world. For this purpoſe they build an apartment with paper painted and gilt, containing every part of a perfect houſe: this they fill with a great number of paſteboard boxes, painted and varniſhed, in which are repreſented ingots of gold and ſilver, made of gilt paper. Of theſe there are ſeveral hundreds, deſigned to redeem them from the dreadful puniſhments which the king of the infernal regions inflicts on thoſe who have nothing to give him; whilſt a number of them are placed by themſelves, to bribe his officers; the reſt, as well as the houſe, are for lodging, boarding, and buying ſome office in the other world. All theſe little boxes are faſtened by padlocks of paper, and then, ſhutting the doors of the paper houſe, they ſecure it with locks of the ſame ſubſtance. When the perſon who has been at this expence happens to die, they burn the houſe with much ceremony, and afterward both the keys of the houſe and of the little cheſts, that the good woman in the other world may be able to open them, and take out the gold and ſilver after the paper is turned into thoſe metals.

All that has been hitherto mentioned relates only to the exterior doctrines of Fo, but as to the interior very few of the bonzes themſelves are capable of underſtanding thoſe myſteries. They teach, that a vacuum, or empty void, is the beginning and end of all things; that from this nothing all things were produced, and

to it they ſhall return; and that all beings, both animate and inanimate, differ from each other only in their form and qualities. "In order to live happily we muſt continually ſtrive," ſay they, "by meditation and frequent victories over ourſelves, to become like this principle, and to that purpoſe muſt accuſtom ourſelves to do nothing, to wiſh for nothing, and to think of nothing. The nearer a man approaches to the nature of a ſtone, or the trunk of a tree, the greater is his perfection. In ſhort, it is in indolence and in inactivity, and in a ceſſation of all deſires, and annihilation of all the faculties of the ſoul, that they ſuppoſe virtue and happineſs to conſiſt. When a man has once attained this ſtate, all his tranſmigrations are at an end; he has nothing to fear, becauſe properly he is nothing, or, if he is any thing, he is happy."—This kind of quietiſm, however, is not peculiar to the diſciples of Fo among the Chineſe, for the Gentoos have a proverb of the ſame import.

The greateſt part of the learned, and particularly the diſciples of Confucius, have warmly attacked this doctrine, proving that this apathy, or rather ſtupid inſenſibility, overturns all morality; hat man is raiſed above other beings only by his thinking and reaſoning faculties, and by his attainments in the knowledge and practice of virtue; that this baſe inactivity is renouncing the moſt eſſential duties, cancelling the obligations reſulting from the relations of father and ſon, huſband and wife, prince and ſubject; and that if this doctrine was practiſed in its full extent,

it

it would reduce all the members of the ſtate to a condition much inferior to that of the brutes.

There are two other religions, of a very different nature, that have been long tolerated in China.

At Kay-fong-fu, the capital of Ho-nan, is a ſynagogue of Jews, who have been ſettled many centuries in China: they were viſited in the year 1704 by a miſſionary, named Cozani, who had a long conference with them. They ſhewed him their religious books, and permitted him to enter the moſt ſecret place of the ſynagogue, reſerved only for the ruler, who never goes into it but with the moſt profound reverence. In the midſt of the ſynagogue was a very handſome pulpit, which ſtood very high, and had a cuſhion richly embroidered; from which, on their ſabbath, they conſtantly read in the books of the Pentateuch. There was alſo a tablet, on which was written the emperor's name; but there were no ſtatues or images. There were likewiſe a cenſer, a long table, and ſome candleſticks. On ſeveral other tables were thirteen tabernacles, in the form of an ark, with curtains before them; twelve repreſented the tribes of Iſrael, and the thirteenth Moſes, whoſe writings were ſhut up in each of them. On leaving the ſynagogue Cozani entered a large ſaloon, in which were only a great number of cenſers; and they told him, this was the place in which they honoured the great men of their law. From this ſaloon he was conducted to the hall of gueſts, in order to diſcourſe with them; and here, on comparing his Bible with their Penta-

teuch,

teuch, he found both the chronology and the defcents of the patriarchs, with their ages, exactly agree. This fynagogue looks to the weft, to which they turn whenever they pray to God, whom they worfhip under the names of "Creator of all Things," and "Governor of the Univerfe." They call the law, "the law of Ifrael," "the ancient law," and "the law of God." Cozani prevailed on the chief prieft to caufe the curtains of one of the tabernacles to be undrawn, and to unfold one of the books, they being written on long pieces of parchment and rolled round a piece of wood. The character was very diftinct and clear; but one of the books having narrowly efcaped an inundation when the Yellow river overflowed its banks, it happened to receive injury by the water, and the characters being fomewhat defaced, the Jews caufed the twelve copies to be tranfcribed from it. This ancient MS. of the Old Teftament does not contain feveral of the books which are to be found in our canon, with fome of which thefe Jews are entirely unacquainted.

Cozani was furprifed to find that their ancient rabbies had blended feveral ridiculous tales with the facts related in Scripture; for befide the Bible, they have feveral other books, compofed by the ancient rabbies: fome of thefe, which contain the moft extravagant ftories, comprehend the ritual, and the ceremonies they now ufe.

They ftill retain fome of the ceremonies of the Old Teftament; in particular they practife circumcifion,

and

and obſerve the ſeventh day, the feaſt of unleavened bread, and of the paſchal lamb. They make no fires, nor dreſs any proviſion on their ſabbaths; and whenever they read the Bible in their ſynagogue, they cover their faces with a tranſparent veil, in memory of Moſes, who deſcended from the mountain with his face covered; they alſo abſtain from blood, and cut the veins of the animals they kill that all the blood may flow out.

Yet, notwithſtanding this, they pay the ſame honours to Confucius as the Chineſe literati. They join with them in the ceremonies performed in the halls of their great men, pay the honours due to their anceſtors in the hall contiguous to the ſynagogue, and offer them the fleſh of animals, except ſwine, with ſweetmeats and incenſe, proſtrating themſelves on the earth. They uſed only cenſers, without either inſcriptions or images, in the houſes and halls of their anceſtors. When Cozani ſpoke to them of the life and actions of the Meſſiah, they ſeemed greatly ſurpriſed, and ſaid that they had never heard of any Jeſus, except the ſon of Sirach mentioned in their Bible; they alſo told him, that their anceſtors firſt appeared in the empire of China, in the dynaſty of Han, which began two hundred and ſix years before the birth of Chriſt, and ended two hundred and twenty after the Chriſtian æra. There were once many families of them, but they are now greatly reduced.

There

There are alſo many Mahometans who have been ſettled above ſix hundred years in ſeveral provinces, where they have their moſques, and are never diſturbed, becauſe they live peaceably without oppoſing the cuſtoms or religion of the country.

It will be proper before we quit this head, to give our readers a ſhort account of the attempts which have been made by the Jeſuits, and other miſſionaries, to introduce the tenets of the church of Rome into this extenſive empire, in doing which we ſhall follow the learned J. L. de Moſheim.

The founders of the Romiſh church in China were three Italian Jeſuits, who were ſent into that empire, by the ſuperiors of their order, toward the end of the ſixteenth century. One of theſe three, named *Ricci*, a man of uncommon abilities, continued his miſſion many years after the other two were recalled, and eſtabliſhed a great reputation, both among the learned and the vulgar. He rendered himſelf agreeable to all ranks, and kept up a good underſtanding with the bonzes, from whom he acquired a knowlege of the Chineſe manners, diſpoſition, and learning; in ſome meaſure he reconciled the ancient religion of the country to the firſt principles of theology, and blended the maxims of Confucius with the doctrines of Jeſus Chriſt. He ſignified to the people, that he was only come to renew and reform the abrogated religion of their forefathers, and that his moral ſyſtem was no other than that

that of their great philosopher Cong-fu-zee, or Confucius. This secured to him many followers, but the rigid adherents to the peculiar doctrines of popery inveighed against his temporizing moderation, with all the bitterness of bigotted zeal; yet as he brought the ancient Chinese faith to a greater conformity with nature, reason, and true religion, and endeavoured to make his disciples good men, if not altogether thorough Catholics, every lover of virtue will venerate the name of father Ricci. At length, in the year 1630, the Dominicans and Franciscans arrived in China, who being averse to the temporizing plan of conversion which had hitherto been pursued, boldly censured the conduct of the Christian converts. This produced a warm dispute between the different orders, which brought on an appeal to the supreme judge of Rome, and a decree was made by pope Innocent X. in 1645, enjoining the Jesuits to insist on a more rigid renunciation of idolatrous superstitions from the converts to Christianity.

The Jesuits in China being more intent on establishing themselves than the authority of the Pope, and choosing rather to soothe the people, by insisting only on a qualified observance of the precepts of their church, than by combating their favourite customs, to endanger their own well-being in the state, received this injunction with apparent veneration, and treated it with real contempt; their common manner of receiving those decrees of the bishops of Rome which counteract the views of their society. These fathers

fathers had the influence to get the decree annulled in 1656.

During the minority of the emperor Cham-hi, a cruel persecution of the Christans was set on foot in 1669, but when that sovereign came of age, he caressed and countenanced the Jesuits. These expert men did not fail to make good use of the protection granted them; they obtained, in 1692, an edict from the emperor, by which the Christian religion was declared to be good and salutary, and all his subjects were permitted to embrace it.

Christianity thus countenanced by the throne, met with its greatest obstruction from the animosity of those who inculcated it; a furious contest arose between the Jesuitical converts, and those made by the Dominicans and Franciscans. The most deadly hatred of each other became a part of the *Christian* temper infused into each sect. Many years were spent in these altercations, and strenuous appeals were made to Rome by both parties, where, after six years had been spent in consulting and deliberating, judgment was at length pronounced. In 1704, the holy office decreed, "That the two Chinese words, *Tein* and *Chang-ti*; should no longer be applied to God; but that instead of them, the word *Tien-chu*, which signifies Lord of Heaven, should be introduced; that the tables on which were written, in Chinese letters, *King-tien*, or "the honour of Heaven," should be removed from the Christian churches; that Christians should by no means assist

at

at those sacrifices which are offered in spring and autumn, at the time of the equinox, to Confucius and their anceftors; that they fhould likewife abfent themfelves from thofe houfes and temples which are built in honour of Confucius, in order to pay to that philofopher the worfhip rendered him from the literati of the empire; that they fhould thenceforward upon no account pay that worfhip to their anceftors that is paid by the Chinefe; where or in what manner foever it is offered; and, in the laft place, that thofe tablets of their forefathers, upon which was written in Chinefe letters, *The feat of the foul, or fpirit of* N. fhould be removed from the houfes of all Chriftians.

Thefe rigid reftrictions were foftened by fome fmall indulgences: the new converts were permitted to appear along with their relations in the halls of their forefathers, and to be fpectators of the ceremonies there performed, but not to partake of them in the leaft. They were further indulged in hanging up the tables of their anceftors in their houfes without any other infcription than the name of the deceafed, and a declaration affixed, containing the Chriftian faith concerning departed fouls, and they were allowed to retain fuch of the ancient funeral rites as were free from all appearance of fuperftition. Thefe idulgences were infufficient to foften the refentment of the Jefuits at this unexpected decree, the influence of which, and a fubfequent bull of Clement XI. iffued in 1715, proved the fources of great confufion among the papifts in Afia; and the death of

the emperor Chang-chi, the patron of the Jesuits, which happened in 1722, gave a new face to the state of religion in China. Yong-Teching, his son and successor, unexpectedly repealed the edict published by his father in favour of the Christian religion, prohibited his subjects from embracing the faith of the Europeans, and permitted his governors of provinces and officers of state to persecute the Christians and demolish their churches. A blind religious zeal, long kept under a painful restraint, is naturally apt to break out with increased violence when the restraint is removed. The emperor himself headed the party which he had let loose against the Christians: he ordered all Romish ecclesiastics in his dominions to be taken into custody, and conveyed to Canton or Pekin, to prevent any further exercise of their functions, and at length they were banished to the island of Macao. The Jesuits alone had the address to shelter themselves from this storm: their general knowledge and superior abilities, which they carefully exerted to gratify the favourite pursuits of the emperor, always procured for themselves an exemption from persecution. It ought however to be observed, that although the Jesuits endeavour to place this persecution, and that which followed, under the emperor Kien-long, to the score of religion, the Chinese assert, that it was not Christianity, but the violation of their laws which they meant to punish.

Notwithstanding the opposition made to the doctrines

trines taught by these missionaries, by an account published in 1743, it appears, that in the city of Pekin, and the province of Pe-che-li, in which it is situated, the number of Christian converts gained by the Jesuits amounted to more than 50,000. In 1746 another general persecution was raised, and by accounts published in 1758, it appears, that the emperor was not at all inclined to tolerate the profession of Christianity in his territories.

Montesquieu observes, that Christianity can never be established in China. Beside many instances which he gives in support of his opinion, respecting rites peculiar to the church of Rome, he mentions the assembling of women in churches, their necessary communication with the minister of religion, their participation in the sacraments, the marriage of only one wife, which overturn both the manners and customs of the country, and with the same blow strike at its religion and laws. *L'Esprit des Loix, liv.* xix. *cap.* 18.—This reasoning, however, would have equally applied to Italy in the time of Augustus or any of the Cæsars, when it was as improbable that Christianity would ever become the religion of the whole country, as it now is that it should be the established religion of China.

Such are the accounts given by French writers; but it appears that the Russians have a church at Pekin, where they worship according to the Greek form. Even students of that nation are permitted to reside in the capital, for the purpose of acquiring the Chinese language and literature. "Hitherto,"

 says

ſays Mr. Coxe, "we have been indebted almoſt entirely to the French for any probable accounts of the interior ſtate of the Chineſe empire, but the amicable intercourſe which has for ſome time ſubſiſted between the courts of Peterſburgh and Pekin, has facilitated the acquiſition of Chineſe books; and the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary at the latter city has enabled the Ruſſians to obtain a more general and accurate knowledge of the Chineſe empire, particularly with reſpect to its laws, hiſtory, and geography." *Travels, 8vo. edit.* III. 199 *.

The Chineſe in their perſons are far from being ſuch groteſque figures as they repreſent themſelves in their paintings; and we may form a pretty diſtinct idea of them in general, by conſidering what they eſteem beauty. This they imagine conſiſts in having a large forehead, ſmall eyes, a ſhort noſe, a broad face, a mouth of a moderate ſize, large ears, and black hair; together with a certain ſymmetry and proportion between all the parts. As their garments are wide, and do not fit ſo cloſe to the body as thoſe of the Europeans, they have formed no idea of the beauty reſulting from a genteel and eaſy ſhape. On the contrary, they eſteem a man well made when he is fat, bulky, and handſomely fills his chair. Their complexion, in the ſouthern parts of China, where the weather is exceſſively hot, is of

* Mr. Coxe was certainly miſinformed reſpecting a ſeminary of Ruſſians being inſtituted at Pekin, for ſir George Staunton has very obligingly aſſured the author that there are a few Ruſſians at Pekin, but that they have no ſeminary there.

an

an olive colour; but, in the northern provinces, they are naturally as fair as the Europeans, and, in common, their faces are not disagreeable: the men of learning, and young people, particularly, not being exposed to the sun, have a fine skin and a beautiful complexion. Such as are professedly men of letters, especially if they are well descended, affect to let the nails of their fingers grow an inch long or more, from the vanity of shewing that they are not employed in manual labour; a custom which prevails in Otaheite, among the *eries*, or men of rank.

As for the women, they are commonly of the middle size; their noses are short, their eyes little, their mouths well made, and with rosy lips; their ears are long, their hair black, and their complexion florid; their features are regular, and their countenances full of vivacity. The smallness of their feet is, in the opinion of the Chinese, none of the least charms of that sex: therefore, when a female infant is born, the nurses are very careful in binding her feet extremely hard, to prevent their growing; and they are ever after subjected to this constraint: but whatever pain a child suffers from this violence offered to nature, it appears that its health is not materially affected by it; and such is the force of custom, that the Chinese women, when adult, are so far from complaining of it, that they pride themselves in this whimsical perversion of nature, and always affect to shew their feet as they walk, or rather hobble along with tottering and unsteady steps.

The men ſhave their heads, leaving only one lock of hair growing on the crown. Oſbeck ſays, "If a Chineſe is aſked what ſum of money would induce him to part with his tuft of hair? he replies by aſking the inquirer, what he would take for his head?" our author adds, "no wonder they ſo highly prize an ornament which they have cheriſhed for twenty, thirty, or even a greater number of years." They cover their heads in ſummer with a ſmall cap, in the form of a funnel, made of rattan or cane, and lined with ſatin. At the top is a tuft of hair that ſpreads over it to the very edges. This hair, which grows between the legs of a cow, is dyed of a bright red, and is permitted to be worn by all ſorts of people; but the men of letters wear a cap of the ſame form made of paſteboard, and lined and covered with ſatin, with a large tuft of the fineſt red ſilk. In winter they wear a very warm kind of cap, bordered with ſable, ermine, or fox-ſkin, the upper part of which is covered with red ſilk, that falls round it to the edges, and as they walk flutters in the air. This border of fur is two or three inches broad, and looks very handſome. The upper part of the cap, when worn by the mandarines in their formalities, is adorned with a diamond, or ſome other precious ſtone, ill cut, though ſet in gold.

Their other garments conſiſt in a long veſt, one lappet of which folds over the other, and reaches to the right ſide, where it is faſtened by five or ſix gold or ſilver buttons, at a ſmall diſtance from each other.

other. The ſleeves, which are broad toward the ſhoulders, grow narrow by degrees toward the hand. They gird themſelves with a large ſilk ſaſh, the end of which hangs down to their knees, and in this they put their purſe, and a caſe that contains a knife, two ſmall ſticks which ſerve for a fork, and other neceſſary utenſils. Under the veſt they in ſummer wear linen drawers, which are ſometimes covered with another of taffety; but in winter they wear ſatin breeches, with cotton or raw ſilk quilted in them: in the northern provinces theſe are made of warm ſkins. Their ſhirts are made of different kinds of cloth, and are very wide and ſhort. In ſummer their necks are quite naked.

M. Renaudet publiſhed at Paris, in the year 1718, a work which controverted many circumſtances reſpecting the literature and internal government of the Chineſe, which had been related in the accounts publiſhed by the Jeſuits. His work is entitled "*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine.*" Every effort was therefore uſed by thoſe fathers to invalidate the authority of his quotations; but at length M. de Guines hath fully eſtabliſhed the credit of M. Renaudet, by having found depoſited in the French king's library the original Chineſe MS. from which that author profeſſed to derive his facts. This diſcovery was made public in the year 1764.

It is generally agreed that the ſilkworm was firſt bred, and its curious web firſt manufactured, in China, and for a great many centuries formed a moſt

lucrative branch of trade; no other part of the world having any knowledge of that insect, or of its wonderful properties. The ancients in all ages were supplied with that costly article of luxury, silk, from India, whither it was brought from China. It was about the middle of the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian, that two Persian monks, who had been employed as missionaries in some of the Christian churches, which were established, as we are informed by Cosmas, in different parts of India, had penetrated into the country of the Seres, or China. There they observed the labours of the silkworm, and became acquainted with the whole process of working up its productions into such a variety of elegant fabrics. The prospect of gain, or perhaps an indignant zeal, excited by seeing this lucrative branch of commerce engrossed by unbelievers, prompted them to repair to Constantinople; there they explained to the emperor the origin of silk, as well as the various modes of preparing and manufacturing it: mysteries until then unknown, or very imperfectly understood, in Europe. Encouraged by his liberal promises, they undertook to bring to the capital a sufficient number of those wonderful insects, to whose labour man is so much indebted. This they accomplished by conveying the eggs of the silkworm in a hollow cane; which were hatched by the heat of a dunghill; the insects, so procured, were fed with the leaves of the wild mulberry-tree, and they multiplied and worked in the same manner

as

as in those climates where they first became objects of human attention and culture. Vast numbers of these insects were soon reared in different parts of Greece, particularly in the Peloponesus. Sicily afterward undertook to breed silkworms with equal success, and was imitated, from time to time, in several towns in Italy. In all these places extensive manufactures were established and carried on with silk raised in the country. The demand for silk from the East diminished of course. The subjects of the Greek emperors were no longer obliged to have recourse to the Persians for a supply of it, and a considerable change took place in the nature of the commercial intercourse between Europe and India. *Dr. Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning ancient India*, page 88.

It was ten centuries after the Chinese had lost their monopoly of silk, that tea became adopted into general use in European countries. The demand for this favourite leaf has continually increased since its first introduction, which is little more than a century ago. In the year 1785, when the British ministry introduced regulations respecting the duties on this important article, it was stated in the house of commons, that the whole quantity of tea imported into Europe from China was about nineteen millions of pounds weight, of which it was conjectured that twelve millions were consumed in Great Britain, and its dependencies.

The porcelain of China was highly esteemed by the ancients from the time when the Romans became luxurious.

The visit of Marco Paulo to China in the thirteenth century, has ever been considered as the first intercourse which any European effected with that country; but the laborious investigations of M. de Guignes have brought to light an embassy sent thither in a much earlier period of time. In his *Memoire sur les Liaisans et le Commerce du Romains avec les Tartares et les Chinois*; *Mem. de Literat.* xxxii. 355, *&c.* he states that the Chinese historians have recorded a circumstance which none of the Greek or Roman writers have noticed. In the 160th year of the Christian æra, An-toun (the emperor Marcus Antoninus) king of the people of the western ocean, sent an embassy to Oun-ti, who then reigned over China, for the purpose of opening a commercial intercourse with that country. As this overture has hitherto been buried in oblivion, it may be concluded that it proved unsuccessful, and produced no consequences.

In the present century, M. Ismayloff was sent on an embassy to China by Peter the Great of Russia, which arrived at Pekin in the year 1720. See *Bell's Travels, I. 5*. Ever since the Russians have carried on a considerable trade with the Chinese from Siberia.

About the time that the overture from Manilla

 was

was made to the Japanefe, (fee page 21) or near forty years after the Ruffian embaffy, M. Pages relates, that the council of Manilla likewife difpatched an embaffy to Pekin to procure a commercial intercourfe. They appeared in the character of Indians, and obtained a free trade in the maritime parts of the empire; in which traffic, although the Indians alone are confpicuous, the Spaniards are the principals. But whilft the fhort diftance from Luconia to the coaft of China, being not more than an hundred leagues, prefents vaft commercial advantages, yet fuch is the characteriftic fupinenefs of the nation enjoying it, that the trade is carried on without fpirit or effect.

The recent embaffy from the king of Great Britain to the court of Pekin, both as to its objects and procurements, remains at prefent unrevealed to the public; but a full account of this interefting event may be foon expected to appear from a very refpectable quarter, and the beft qualified to give it, Sir. George Staunton, who accompanied Lord Macartney on that voyage of negociation, being employed in preparing his papers for the prefs.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THE MOLUCCAS, OR SPICE ISLANDS.

THE MOLUCCAS are so called from *Moloc*, a word which, in the Malay language, signifies head, they being situated at the entrance of what the natives call "the Archipelago of St. Lazarus," which, however, the best European maps do not express. According to D'Anville's very accurate map of Asia, Ternate, the most northern of this cluster, and the largest island, lies in fifty-five seconds of north latitude. They lie in the following order, in the direction from N. to S. Tidor, Motir, Makian, and Batsian, the latter extending to forty seconds south. Adjacent to these are several smaller islands considerably more to the southward. Between the islands of Ceram and Buero, are the important islands of Amboyna and Banda; the first in four degrees south, the other in four degrees fifty minutes south. The extensive island of Celebes lies to the W. at about 70 leagues distance, and on the E. a narrow strait separates them from the island of Gilolo; and farther on, in the same direction, is Papua and New Guinea. The Moluccas are likewise known by the name of the SPICE ISLANDS, on account of their exuberant production of spices, particularly cloves

and nutmegs. The largest island in this cluster of islands is not quite thirty miles in circumference. Neither corn nor rice can be cultivated here; the natives chiefly subsist upon sago, which is the pith of the libby-tree; and its fruit is convertible to no use. This pith is brought into a granulated state by being baked over a fire, and will then keep several years.

Europe, for more than two thousand years, has been supplied with spices from the East, though it is not yet three hundred years since she became acquainted with the islands where they grow. The Persians, Arabians, and Egytians, formerly conveyed them by means of the Red Sea, and then down the Nile to the coast of Egypt; and thither the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Venetians, and Genoese, in successive periods of time, resorted to buy the spices and silks of India; which, at a most extravagant profit, they dispersed over all Europe. It is not however to be imagined that the spices with which the ancients were acquainted were the production of these islands, but rather the growth of Arabia Felix; for the clove and the nutmeg were entirely unknown to them, and these have been, hitherto, peculiar to the Moluccas.

It is not known who were the first inhabitants of these islands, but it is certain that the Javans and the Malays have successively possessed them. *See Bartholomew d'Aginsola's Account of the Conquest of*

of the Moluccas. About the year 1520 they were inhabited by a ſavage race of men, whoſe chiefs, though honoured with the title of kings, poſſeſſed only a limited authority, and were in fact entirely dependent on the caprice of their ſubjects. Paganiſm was the religion which prevailed among them, but their occaſional intercourſe with other Aſiatics led them to blend with that many of the ſuperſtitions of Mahometaniſm. *Raynal Hiſt. Pol. liv. I.* Accident cauſed the Chineſe to touch at the Moluccas, and they it was who diſcovered the clove and the nutmeg. *Idem.*

The Mahometans of Arabia, and the neighbouring countries, who were improperly called Moors by the firſt diſcoverers of the Indies, in order to carry on this trade to the beſt advantage, ſettled colonies on all the oriental iſlands, and drove the native inhabitants from the coaſts to the mountains, where they retained their religion, liberty, and former cuſtoms; living in a perpetual ſtate of hoſtility with their lawleſs invaders, who had driven them from their ſpicy groves. Thus the aromatic ſweets of theſe iſlands were almoſt as fatal to the inhabitants, as the gold and ſilver of Mexico and Peru were long after to the unhappy natives of thoſe regions of America; but the orientals better preſerved their native freedom. They ſtill continue to ſlay and plunder thoſe who fall into their power, and hence are denominated ſavage murderers and robbers; while both the Chriſtians and Mahometans, on the

other

other hand, ſeize every opportunity of deſtroying them, and of reducing all who fall into their hands to a ſtate of ſlavery; notwithſtanding which, they expect to be thought honeſt men.

At length, ſeveral European republics having acquired immenſe wealth by purchaſing the ſpices brought to Egypt, and ſelling them at a prodigious profit, the Portugueſe, who had employed ſixty years in making diſcoveries along the coaſt of Africa, in 1486 reached the Cape on its moſt ſouthern extremity; and Bartholomew Diaz, who made the important diſcovery, gave it the name of *Cabo Tormentoſo*, or "the Cape of Storms," from the tempeſtuous weather he found there: but when he returned to Portugal with the intelligence, king John II. flattering himſelf that his ſhips would ſoon find a way by ſea to the Indies, changed the name to *Cabo de Buena Eſperanza*, or "the Cape of Good Hope:" but it was not till the year 1497, that Vaſco di Gama, doubling that Cape with three ſhips, traced out a way to the Eaſt Indies; but before this time Columbus, in 1487, perſuaded that it was poſſible to diſcover the Indies by ſailing to the Weſt, made the daring and proſperous voyage by which he gave a new world to Europe. (See an account of his diſcoveries in a ſubſequent chapter).

The Portugueſe, continuing their diſcoveries, ſettled factories in different countries of the Eaſt, not ſubject to the Moors; but met with conſtant oppoſition from thoſe traders, who ſtill carried on the commerce

commerce of the East. At length they discovered the *Spice Islands*, and availing themselves of the animosity which subsisted between the kings of Ternate and Tydore, who had long been at war with each other, they engaged those princes to refer their differences to them; and the people being ready to grant every thing they proposed, in hopes of their alliance, they found no difficulty in settling their factories and building forts. These they soon erected in many parts of the Indies, and every where treated the natives as their vassals.

Having thus established themselves in the East Indies, and having the pope's bull, as well as an agreement with the Spaniards to secure their pretensions, they assumed the lofty title of "lords of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." They continued to erect forts and cities at convenient distances along the African, Arabian, Persian, and Indian coasts, and particularly in the Spice Islands.

They found, however, a rival power spring up at a time and from a quarter least expected. Ferdinand Magellan, an officer in the king of Portugal's service, having received some disgust, entered into the service of the king of Spain, and in 1519 sat sail from the port of Seville, with five ships and two hundred and thirty men: having had the good fortune to discover those straits, which have received their name from him, he opened a passage into the south Sea, and, by crossing that exten-

sive

five ocean, first discovered the Ladrones, and afterwards the Philippines, where, venturing on shore in an hostile manner, and skirmishing with the natives, he was slain.

Magellan's original design of securing some of the Spice Islands was defeated by his death; for those who were left in command contented themselves with ranging through these islands, and purchasing spices of the natives; after which they returned home round the Cape of Good Hope; and these were the first ships that surrounded this terraqueous globe, and by this means demonstrated, by an experiment obvious to the most unlettered mind, the reality of its spherical form.

The next European nation that visited the Spice Islands was the English, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, who set sail from Plymouth on the thirteenth of December 1577, with five ships, and one hundred and sixty-four men, and passing through the Straits of Magellan, crossed the South Sea, and arrived at the Molucca Islands on the 14th of November 1579, when he sent a present to the king of Ternate; who was so pleased with his behaviour, and so exasperated at the insolent conduct of the Portuguese, who aimed at prohibiting his subjects from trading with any other nation, that he desired the assistance and protection of the queen of England. The admiral had several conferences with this prince and the chief men of the country, by whom he was splendidly entertained; and, having purchased

purchased a considerable quantity of cloves, he set sail for England, where he arrived on the third of November 1580.

In 1587 Mr. Cavendish sailed round the world, pursuing the course taken by Drake, and touching at the Moluccas, found the natives still desirous of trading with the English; he then sailed to the Isle of Java, and afterward returned by the Cape of Good Hope to England.

Spain and Portugal had been united in 1580 under one head; and the Dutch, by the assistance of England, had freed them from the Spanish yoke, and the terrors of the Inquisition. The United Provinces affording an asylum to all who fled from the cruelty of the Spaniards, a multitude of merchants resorted thither, who filled the country with money, and in the different branches of commerce they carried on, trained up numbers of mariners, whose experience and boldness enabled them to carry into execution the most speculative and hazardous naval enterprises. These having first endeavoured in vain to discover the north-east passage to the Indies, the city of Amsterdam, in 1595, fitted out four ships for the East Indies, which the next year arrived at Bantam, in the Isle of Java, where they purchased spices, and returned with a rich cargo to Holland.

They made other successful voyages without discovering the spice Islands, though the Spaniards, enraged that a few merchants, the rebels of their state, should thus successfully rob them of a valuable branch

branch of their commerce, fitted out strong squadrons to chastise them: but the Dutch merchants surmounted all opposition, sunk, burned, or took their ships, and returned laden with spices. Among these adventurers was admiral Van Nort, who sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and had the glory of being the first Hollander who circumnavigated the globe.

In 1599, James Van Neck sailed with eight ships to Bantam, where the Portuguese had been expelled, in consequence of a quarrel between them and the natives. Here four ships took in their lading of pepper, while the other four under Van Warwyk sailed to the Moluccas; two of them took in their lading of cloves at Amboyna and Ternate, and the other two sailed to Banda, where having settled a factory, as the other ships did at Ternate, they freighted their ships with nutmegs and mace, and returned to Holland in 1600.

The Dutch, in these expeditions, conducted themselves with humanity and moderation, betraying no symptoms of that insolent and oppressive disposition which their success excited afterward. Such was their humanity to their prisoners, and with such honour did they behave in every thing that related to them, that the Spanish governors at Malacca and in the Moluccas gave them ample testimonies of their kindness and generosity; a character undoubtedly merited, being testified by their rivals and their enemies. This good conduct contributed in a great measure to the success of their designs, by wiping

 off

off the imputation of piracy, and causing them to be considered as a humane and generous nation amongst the Eastern princes; an advantage by so much the greater, as the Portuguese had been a long time hated for the weight and severity of their yoke.

By this time several Dutch companies were formed, which, as they were rivals in interest, no harmony or good understanding subsisted between them. Ships were fitted out by several societies for the same ports, and their cargoes consisting of assortments, glutted the markets with the same commodities, and discouraged all the adventures by the loss on the sales, or the stagnation of their capitals. The States General, to put a stop to these evils, which threatened the ruin of this most important trade, convened, at the Hague, the directors of all the different companies, and obliged them to unite into one body corporate, granting them the most ample privileges. Matters being thus adjusted, the wealth and consequence of the company rapidly advanced; numbers of the richest persons in the state added their stocks to its capital, which now amounted to six millions six hundred thousand florins.

The Dutch now enlarged their views, and with this treasure, added to their united forces, fitted out strong fleets for the East Indies; and being an overmatch for the Portuguese, attacked their ships wherever they met them, and reduced one place after another, till they scarcely left them a fort or factory in India.

In 1609 the Dutch arrived at Banda, with a strong fleet and forces on board, commanded by admiral Varneuf; who solicited leave of the *oran cayas*, or states of the country, to build a fort in the small isle of Nero, to defend them from the insults of the Portuguese and Spaniards; but the Bandanese absolutely refused to comply with the request: upon which the Dutch admiral making a descent with a strong body of troops, attacked and routed the natives; who finding themselves too weak to withstand such force, had recourse to artifice, and drew Varheuf and several officers into a wood, where, having laid an ambuscade, they were all slain. This warrantable stratagem however proved in the end fatal to the natives; for the Dutch, under other commanders, prosecuting the war with great force and impetuosity, entirely subdued the natives.

The English, in their first attempts to establish a trade in the East Indies, were very unsuccessful; notwithstanding which an East India company was incorporated in London by letters patent in 1600; but the Dutch having gained a footing in the Spice Islands, forgetting that they owed their existence as a free people to the English, and grown arrogant by their extraordinary success, began to monopolize the spice trade; treating all the English who approached those islands in an hostile manner, and with unqualified insolence: yet in spite of all opposition, captain Keeling setled an English factory at Ban-

 tam,

tam, in the Isle of Java, in 1609; and in 1616 the principal persons of the islands of Pooloroon and Pooloway made a formal surrender of those islands to Mr. Nathaniel Courthop, Mr. Thomas Spurway, and Mr. Sophon Cozocke, for the use of king James I. in consideration of their being protected against the Dutch, and annually supplied by the English with rice, cloathing, and other necessaries. Upon this occasion a writing was drawn up and signed by both parties. They also delivered a nutmeg-tree, taken up with the roots, and the fruit upon it, and a live goat, by way of seisin; and, at their desire, the English colours were hoisted in the island of Pooloroon; when thirty-six guns were fired in honour of this cession.'

'The king and principal persons of Wayre and Rosinging also surrendered those islands to England on the same conditions.

Lantore, or Banda, at the same time sought the protection of the English; and on the twenty-fourth of November 1620, the chiefs of that island surrendered it up in form by a writing, which they signed and delivered to Mr. Hayes, who took the command of an English fort erected there.

Nothing could be more honourable with respect to the English; nothing could convey a better title, than the surrender of these islands by the people who possessed them. The free consent and voluntary surrender of the natives surely gives a claim to a country

more

more noble, more juſt, and equitable, than force can ever obtain, or conqueſt confer. But the Dutch, in time of profound peace, took the Engliſh ſhips, beſieged their forts, and carried on an open war with them in the Indies; while the ſtates of Holland, juſt reſcued from the Spaniſh yoke, by that nation which they now ſo ungratefully oppoſed, cajoled the puſillanimous monarch James the Firſt, who then filled the Britiſh throne.

While affairs were in this ſituation, a treaty was entered into between Great Britain and the United States, by which it was agreed, That the Engliſh company ſhould enjoy a free trade at Palicate, and bear half the charge of maintaining the fort and garriſon there. "That in the iſles of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna, the trade ſhould be ſo regulated by common conſent, that the Engliſh company ſhould enjoy a third part of that trade, as well for the importing and ſelling of goods in thoſe iſlands, as of the fruits and merchandize the growth of them, which ſhould be exported thence; whilſt the Dutch company were to enjoy the other two-thirds. And that as to the buying and ſharing the ſaid fruits and merchandizes, the principal factors of the two nations ſhould buy them at the current price, and divide them by lot, to each their reſpective ſhare; and for that end it ſhould be lawful for either party to have acceſs to, and abide in, the forts or magazines of the other; and that the forts, as well on the one part

 as

as on the other, should remain in the hands of those who were at present in the possession of them.

But no sooner was this treaty, so favourable to the Dutch, known in India, than, contrary to the very letter as well as spirit of it, they invaded the islands of Lantore and [illegible]oon, which were in the possession of the English, massacred the principal natives, demolished the forts and factories established there, murdered some of the company's servants, and made the rest prisoners; treating them in a more insolent and barbarous manner than might be expected to have been practised by a declared enemy.

It is not easy to account for the disgraceful and inequitable regulation by which the English company were to possess only a third part of the spice trade, at a time when the Banda islands were their property, and in their possession: but when such a stipulation was ratified by the supreme powers of both nations, nothing could be a more open infraction of the established laws of civilized states, than for these Dutch settlers, in time of profound peace, to infringe upon possessions held by rights so recognized and undisputed.

In pursuance of the above treaty, the English company settled factories at the Moluccas, at Amboyna, and Banda, for carrying on the trade in the stipulated proportion; imagining that the Dutch had made so advantageous a bargain for themselves, that for the future no molestation would be received from them. But

But no sooner were they fixed in these settlements, than the Dutch traders, in the year 1622, pretended a plot, and charged the English and Japanese with a conspiracy to surprise their principal fort at Amboyna, and, by inflicting the most cruel tortures, at length extorted a confession of their intending to attack them. Contrary to the law of nations, they put several of the English and Japanese to death, as if they had been their subjects taken in rebellion, and then expelled those who survived their cruelties. Many of these unhappy victims died protesting their innocence in the strongest terms. These proceedings were attested upon oath, in the court of admiralty, by the English factors who were fortunate enough to escape to England.

The Dutch, immediately after, seized upon all the English factories in the Spice Islands, and have ever since excluded that nation, and all others, from this valuable branch of commerce.

When Cromwell gained the ascendency in the commonwealth and became protector, he had formed a design to chastise the Dutch for these acts of cruelty and injustice, but he died before any measures had been carried into effect; and the dissipated conduct of the second Charles caused these outrages to be perpetrated with impunity. Many attempts have been made both by the French and the English to procure some of the trees which bear these valuable spices, in a healthy state and proper preservation for

 trans-

transplanting to a soil and climate deemed congenial with their indigenous growth: on the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon the attempt has failed, but better success may be hoped for in the West Indies: on the island of Jamaica many trees have been planted, and are now in such a flourishing state as to encourage the expectation that they will in a few years fructify and become valuable acquisitions.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

TIBET, OR THIBET.

THIS country must not be paſſed over here, on account of the very ſingular form of government, and peculiarity of ſuperſtition which prevail in it.

Tibet proper, or *Great Tibet*, is ſituated due W. of China. Its extent from E. to W. is much greater than that from N. to S. In D'Anville's map of Aſia, the ſouthern extremity of this country is placed at twenty-ſix degrees N.; but Major Rennell, in his moſt approved map gives the name of Bootan, to all the country from thirty degrees ſouthward. Taking it in the full extent which D'Anville aſſigns to it, it reaches about twelve hundred miles from E. to W. and about five hundred from N. to S.; being from ſeventy-nine degrees to ninety-ſix degrees E. longitude, and from twenty-five degrees to thirty degrees N. latitude. It is a very elevated country and mountainous; conſequently it experiences a much colder temperature than other countries lying in the ſame latitude.

The earlieſt accounts which we have of Tibet are from the writings of the miſſionaries. What renders

renders this country interesting, is a peculiar modification of superstition which has been here adopted; and in no other quarter of the world is superstition so generally influential, and so peculiarly diversified, as in Asia.

The object of adoration in this country, is what has been styled "the GRAND LAMA," or "the DALAY LAMA," from the office which he is supposed to hold of the supreme pontiff. In former times he possessed the sovereignty of all Tibet, but he now disclaims all concern with temporal affairs, and chooses one whom he constitutes governor in his stead, by the name of tipa. This officer wears the lama or clerical habit, which is generally of frize, with a yellow or red hat, but is under no obligation to observe the rules of the order, which are both severe and numerous: indeed no one lama undertakes to fulfil them all; but they divide the load among them. One adheres to the observance of particular precepts; another makes choice of other rules, and so of the rest; yet there are some prayers in common which they sing agreeably enough: but they are all obliged to live unmarried, and not to interfere with trade.

The principal city has the name of LASSA, as well as the province; but the grand lama does not live in it, his place of residence being one of the finest of the pagods, which are very numerous upon the mountain Putala. He sits cross-legged upon a large and magnificent cushion, placed upon a kind of altar, in

in which posture he receives the respects, or rather adorations, not only of the people of the country, but of a surprising multitude of strangers, who undertake long and painful journeys, to offer him their homage upon their knees, and receive his blessing. Bentink says, that above twenty thousand lamas reside in several circles that extend round the foot of this mountain, according as the rank and dignity they possess render them more worthy to approach the person of the sovereign pontiff.

On the top of the mountains trophies are erected to his honour, that he may preserve man and beast; and all the kings who pay obedience to him, before their inauguration, send ambassadors with rich presents to obtain his blessing, as the means of making their reigns happy and prosperous.

Princes are even no more freed from the ceremony of kneeling at his feet, than the meanest of the people; nor does he treat them with more respect; for the grand lama thinks himself above returning any salute; he therefore never pulls off his bonnet, nor rises from his seat out of complaisance to any who approach him, let their dignity be ever so great; he only puts his hand upon the head of his adorers, who believe that by this means they receive the remission of their sins.

Grueber asserts, that the grandees of the kingdom have such veneration for this living god, that they are very eager to procure his excrements, which they wear pulverized in little bags about their

their necks, as sacred relics, and that the lamas make great advantage by the large presents they receive from the great, for helping them to this precious powder. Tavernier also declares, that those about the dalay lama preserve his ordure, dry it, and reduce it to powder, like snuff: then putting it into boxes, go every market day, and present it to their chief traders, who having recompensed them for their kindness, carry it home as a great rarity, and when they feast their friends, strew it upon their meat.

The profound veneration which both the princes and people of this extensive country entertain for the power and holiness of the dalay lama, make them readily submit to the most servile rites. They believe the god Fo lives in him, and that he knows all things, sees all things, and penetrates into the very secrets of the heart; and that if at any time he condescends to ask questions, he does it only for form sake, that he may leave the infidels without excuse. They are even persuaded that when he seems to die he only changes his abode, being born again in a new body, and that nothing more is to be done than to discover what body he is pleased to inhabit. The Tartarian princes sometimes engage in this search, yet after all are obliged to refer it to the lamas, who alone understand the marks by which he is to be known, or rather know the child whom the preceding grand lama had appointed to be his successor.

The principal image worshipped by these people is named Manippe, and is represented with nine heads,

heads, placed so as to form a cone, with only one head at the top. Before this idol the people perform their sacred rites, with many odd gesticulations and dances, often repeating, "O Manippe, mi-hum! O Manippe, mi-hum!" which is, O Manippe, save us! To appease and conciliate the favour and esteem of this deity they frequently place before the idol various sorts of meat.

The number of lamas in Tibet is incredible, there being scarcely a family without one, either from devotion, or expectation of preferment in the service of the dalay lama. This dignity, however, is not confined to the inhabitants of Tibet, other nations may arrive at that honour; and there are Tartars, and even Chinese, who resort to Lassa to obtain it; and those that arrive at the rank of the disciples of the dalay lama, the number of which is limited to two hundred, consider it as a great happiness. From among these the khutucktus or superior dalay lamas are chosen, and they no sooner obtain that honour, than plenty pours in upon them from a crowd of adorers, who resort to them from all the neighbouring countries.

The character given the lamas of Lassa, by the missionaries, who were their great enemies, is, that they are debauched, and yet govern princes, who give them the chief place in assemblies. Some of them, they add, are tolerably skilled in medicine; others have some notions of astronomy, and can calculate eclipses. But only a few of them can read or understand

underſtand their ſacred book, or even ſay their prayers, which are in an ancient tongue, and in a character no longer ſpoken, though there are ſaid to be in Tibet univerſities and colleges for teaching their law, and the principles of their religion. Bentink, on the other hand, gives a favourable account of them, and ſays they both teach and practiſe the three great and fundamental duties of honouring God, offending nobody, and giving to every one his due; and that he was informed by ſome travellers of credit, that they ſtrenuouſly proteſt againſt adoring more than one God: that the dalay lama and khutucktus are his ſervants, to whom he communicates knowledge for the inſtruction and good of mankind; that the images which they honour are only repreſentations of the deity, or of ſome holy men; and that they ſhew them to the people only to remind them of their duty.

It is however very obſervable, that the religion of Tibet reſembles that of the Romiſh church in ſo many particulars, that one would imagine either that the church of Rome borrowed her ceremonies from them, or that they derived theirs from Rome. Gerbillon ſays, that they uſe holy water, a ſinging ſervice, and praying for the dead; their dreſs reſembles that in which the apoſtles are painted; they wear the mitre and cap like the biſhops, and their dalay lama is nearly the ſame among them as the ſovereign pontiff is among the Romaniſts. Grueber goes much farther, and maintains, that though no European or Chriſtian was ever there before him,

yet

yet, their religion agrees with that of the church of Rome in all essential points; among other things he mentions extreme unction, making processions in honour of reliques, their several fasts, their undergoing severe penances, and, in particular, scourging themselves; their consecrating lamas, who have a kind of episcopal jurisdiction, and their sending out missionaries, who live in extreme poverty, and travel bare-footed through the desects as far as China. To conclude, friar Horace says, that the religion of Tibet is the counterpart of the Romish. "They offer," says he, "alms, prayers, and sacrifices, for the dead, have a vast number of convents, filled with monks and friars, amounting to thirty thousand, who, beside the three vows of poverty, obedience, and charity, make several others. They have their confessors, who are chosen by their superiors, and have their licences from their lamas, without which they cannot hear confessions, or impose penances." To these may be added the use of beads. The red hat is alike the mark of lamas and cardinals, but the doctrine of transubstantiation, that baseless chimera, but powerful principle in the Romish superstition, has no prototype at Tibet. The gentoos of India also resemble the church of Rome in some few particulars, and practised the same ceremonies before the knowledge of Christianity was revealed to mankind.

Very recent information, from the most respectable

table authority, throws great light upon this curious subject.

When Mr. Hastings was governor-general of India, lieutenant Samuel Turner was appointed on an embassy to Tibet. The particulars of this curious diplomatic appointment are inserted in the first volume of Asiatic Researches.

Mr. Turner speaks of this sublime personage, by the name of Teeshoo Lama, and he confirms the accounts formerly given, that it is an opinion held to be most sacred and indubitable, that this exalted being never dies; for although the bodies in which it takes up its abode successively yield to mortality, yet the spiritual essence thus adored, immediately, upon such occasions, flits away, and animates some other human form.

This embassy was undertaken in the year 1783, and the immortal spirit which was the object of it, at that time was embodied in an infant of eighteen months old. It appears by Mr. Turner's account, which was transmitted to sir William Jones by order of the governor-general and council at Calcutta, that the emperor of China is a devout worshipper of this immortal essence, and had given express orders in what manner its infantile embodied state should be treated.

On the 3d of December, 1783, Mr. Turner arrived at the city of Terpaling, which is situated on the summit of a high hill, where is a monastery

newly

newly erected, and on the summit of a high hill, where is a monastery just then finished for the reception and education of Teeshoo Lama. In the centre of this monastery is a palace where he resided, and which occupies about a mile of ground in circumference: the whole is encompassed by a wall. The several buildings serve for the accommodation of three hundred gylongs, who are appointed to perform religious services with Teeshoo Lama until he should be removed to the monastery and musnud of the Teeshoo Loomboo.

In the morning of the next day Mr. Turner visited Teeshoo Lama, and found him placed in great form upon his musnud. On the left side stood his father and mother, and on the other, the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The musnud is a fabric of silk cushions piled one upon the other, until the seat is elevated to the height of four feet from the floor. An embroidered silk covered the top, and the sides were decorated with pieces of silk of various colours, suspended from the upper edge and hanging down. By the particular request of Teeshoo Lama's father, the ambassador, and Mr. Saunders who accompanied him, wore the English dress.

Mr. Turner advanced, and, as is the custom, presented a white pelong handkerchief; at the same time delivering into the Lama's hands, the governor's present of a string of pearls and coral, while the other things were set down before him. Having performed the ceremony of the exchange of

 handkerchiefs

handkerchiefs with the father and mother, the English gentlemen took their seats on the right of Teeshoo Lama.

A multitude of persons, who had been ordered to escort Mr. Turner, were admitted to the Lama's presence, and allowed to make their prostrations.

The infant Lama turned toward the gentlemen, and received them all with a cheerful and significant look of complacency. His father then addressed Mr. Turner in the Tibet language, which the interpreter explained to be, that "Teeshoo Lama had been accustomed to remain at rest until that time of the day, but he had awoke very early that morning, and could not be prevailed upon to remain longer in bed; for," added he, "the English gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep." Mr. Turner proceeds in his narrative as follows: "During the time we were in the room, I observed the Lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us, and when our cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, throwing back his head, and, contracting the skin of his brow, he kept making a noise, for he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took out of a golden cup, containing confects, some burnt sugar, and, stretching out his arm, made a motion to his attendants to give them to me; he sent some, in like manner, to Mr. Saunders, who was with me. I found myself, although visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something, for it was hinted to me, that, notwithstanding he was

unable

unable to reply, it was not to be inferred that he could not understand; however his incapacity of anſwering excuſed me from delivering many words, and I juſt briefly ſaid, that the governor-general, on receiving news of his deceaſe in China, was overwhelmed with grief and ſorrow, and continued to lament his abſence from the world, until the cloud that had overcaſt the happineſs of this nation was diſpelled by his re-appearance, and then, if poſſible, a greater degree of joy had taken place than he had experienced of grief on receiving the firſt mournful news. The governor wiſhed he might long continue to illumine the world with his preſence, and was hopeful that the friendſhip which had formerly ſubſiſted between them would not be diminiſhed, but rather that it might become ſtill greater than before, and that by continuing to ſhew kindneſs to my countrymen, there might be an extenſive communication between his votaries and the dependants of the Britiſh nation. The little creature turned, looking ſteadfaſtly toward me with the appearance of much attention whilſt I ſpoke, and nodded with repeated but ſlow movements of the head, as though he underſtood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. The parents who ſtood by all the time, eyed their ſon with a look of affection, and a ſmile expreſſive of heart-felt joy, at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole regard was turned to us; he was ſilent and ſedate; never once looking toward his parents, as if under their

influence at the time; and with whatever pains his manners may have been formed to be ſo correct, yet I muſt own his behaviour on this occaſion ap-peared perfectly natural and ſpontaneous, and not directed by any action or ſign of authority."

"The ſcene in which I was here brought to take a part," continues Mr. Turner, "was too new and extraordinary, however trivial, if not abſurd it may appear to ſome, not to claim from me great atten-tion, and conſequently minute remark."

It has been already ſaid that Teeſhoo Lama was at that time eighteen months old. Mr. Turner de-ſcribes him as conducting himſelf with aſtoniſhing dignity and decorum, without ſpeaking a word. His complexion of that hue which in England would be rather termed brown, but not without colour; his features good, ſmall black eyes, and an animated expreſſion of countenance; and he thought him, altogether, one of the handſomeſt children he had ever ſeen. Mr. T. had but little con-verſation with the father, but was told by him that he (the father) was directed to entertain the em-baſſy three days on account of Teeſhoo Lama, and entreated him, with great earneſtneſs, to paſs another on his own account, which was complied with.

In the afternoon the ambaſſador was viſited by two officers of the Lama's houſehold. They ob-ſerved how extremely fortunate it was that the young Lama regarded Mr. Turner with ſuch very particular

particular notice, and that the former Teeſhoo Lama had a very ſtrong partiality for the Engliſh.

On the morning of the ſixth our ambaſſador again waited on Teeſhoo Lama to preſent ſome curioſities. The dignified infant was very much ſtruck with a ſmall clock, and had it held to him, watching, for a long time, the revolutions of the moment hand. He admired it with gravity, and without any childiſh emotion. Mr. Turner ſtayed there about half an hour.

The votaries of the Lama already began to flock in numbers to pay their adorations to him, but few had the honour of being admitted to his preſence. It is conſidered as a happineſs if this ſacred perſonage is even ſhewn to them from the window, and they are enabled to make their proſtrations before he is removed. That ſame day a party of kilmaacs (Calmuc Tartars) came for purpoſes of devotion, and to make their offerings to the Lama. When Mr. Turner returned from viſiting him, he ſaw theſe people ſtanding at the entrance of the ſquare, at the front of the palace, each with his cap off; his hands claſped together, elevated, and held even with his face. They remained upward of half an hour in this attitude; their eyes fixed upon the apartments of the Lama, and anxiety very viſibly depicted in their countenances. Our author ſuppoſes that at length the object of their veneration appeared to them; for one and all, at the ſame time, began to lift up their hands, ſtill cloſed, above their

their heads, then bringing them even with their faces, and, after lowering them to their breasts, then separating them, to be assistant in sinking and rising, they dropped upon their knees, and struck their heads against the ground. This, with the same motions, was repeated nine times. They afterward advanced to deliver their presents, consisting of talents of gold and silver, with the productions of their country, to the proper officer, who having received them, they retired with much apparent satisfaction.

These offerings are frequently made, and, in reality, constitute one of the most copious sources whence the Lamas of Tibet derive their wealth.

The persons who were seen to perform this act of homage were attendants on a man of superior rank, and he himself seemed to be more engrossed than the rest in the performance of these ceremonies: he wore a rich satin garment, lined with fox-skins, and a cap with a tassel of scarlet silk, flowing from the centre of the crown upon the sides all round, and edged with a broad band of Siberian fur.

Mr. T. made a third visit to the Lama, and then received his dispatches for the governor, with many compliments. At which time he was presented with a vest lined with lamb's skin: he likewise received the handkerchiefs.

In the beginning of the year 1785, the governor-general again addressed a letter to the Lama, which he entrusted to a native of Bengal named Poorun-

geer;

geer; but his rank and ſtation are not deſcribed. Early in the month of April he had paſſed the limits of the company's provinces, and arrived at the mountains which conſtitute the kingdom of Bootan. He then came to the borders of Tibet, at Phari, where he was detained a conſiderable time by a heavy fall of ſnow, and the cold was ſo intenſe as to be almoſt inſupportable to an inhabitant of the ſouth; but a change of weather enabled him to continue his journey.

On the 18th of May he reached Teeſhoo Loomboo, the capital of Tibet, to which place the infant pontiff had been removed. He was introduced to the Lama (then only three years old) early in the morning, when he was walking in the garden, under the ſhade of ſpreading trees, the weather at that ſeaſon being the warmeſt of any in the year at Tibet, where the ſucceſſion from cold to heat appears to be very rapid. He delivered the uſual preſent of a handkerchief, and a letter from the governor, which the Lama took, breaking the ſeal himſelf, and taking from under the cover a ſtring of pearls which it encloſed, ran them over between his fingers, as they read their roſaries, and then with an arch air placed them by his ſide, nor would, whilſt the interview continued, allow any one to take them up. The young Lama ſpoke to him in the Tibet language. Poorungeer, when about to depart, approached the Lama, and bowing before him, preſented his head uncovered to receive his bleſſing, which he gave, by ſtretching out his hand and laying it upon

his head; then ordered him to come to him every day ſo long as he remained at Tibet. The infant Lama had been inaugurated the preceding year. As this is held to be a moſt eſſential act of religion, the ceremonials which accompany it are continued ſeveral days, and conſiſt in a variety of very pompous rites. The emperor of China appears upon this occaſion to have aſſumed a very conſpicuous part in giving teſtimony of his reſpect and zeal for this ſublime object of his faith and veneration.

The 28th day of the ſeventh moon, in the year 1784, correſponding nearly, as their year commences with the vernal equinox, to the middle of October, was choſen, as the moſt auſpicious for the ceremony of inauguration.

The Lama being ſafely lodged in the palace, his great officers went out, as is a cuſtomary compliment paid to viſitors of high rank on their near approach, to meet and conduct Dalai Lama and the viceroy of Laſſa, who were on their way to Teeſhoo Loomboo. The three next days Dalai Lama met Teeſhoo Lama in the great temple, with which worſhip the rites of inauguration terminated. The particulars of this pompous exhibition are given in the firſt volume of Aſiatic Reſearches, page 209 to 220.

The account which Mr. Turner here gives of the journey made by Poorungeer to Tibet, appears, in one particular, to differ from the former accounts which have been given by Tavernier, Grueber, and others,

others, in ſpeaking of the ſupreme Lama by the name of Teeſhoo, and the perſonage whom he calls Dalai Lama he repreſents as coming from a diſtant country to aſſiſt at the inauguration of the infant Lama; in other reſpects it ſeems to confirm the former accounts in every material point.

The Kalka Mongals, whoſe country is ſituated to the N. of China, have likewiſe a great high prieſt which is called *Kutuchtu*, and the notions entertained concerning him are exactly ſimilar to thoſe which are held in Tibet reſpecting the grand Lama; but ſome kind of ſubordination in the former to the latter is acknowledged even by the Mongal devotees.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

THIS once extenſive, populous, powerful, and celebrated empire, although at preſent entirely ſubverted, yet conſtitutes a very intereſting ſubject for oriental hiſtory. The court of the prince, who was known in Europe by the title of "the Great Mogul," was ſplendid beyond rivalſhip, even amidſt Eaſtern grandeur. There magnificence was diſplayed to the fulleſt degree that human pride and human ingenuity, aſſiſted by a profuſion of every ſpecies of dazzling wealth, employed under the moſt propitious climate, to gratify the moſt luxurious habits, could ſupply. The city of Delhi, the reſidence of the emperor, was of vaſt extent, and its riches countleſs; for hither the contributions, which were drawn from the widely extended provinces of the empire, were continually flowing.

Various are the names by which the country forming this empire was known; ſuch as India, Mogulſtan, Indoſtan, Hindoſtan, and Hindooſtan. Its extent and boundaries, when at the height of power, may be laid down from thirty-five degrees to nineteen degrees N. latitude, and from ſixty-eight degrees

grees to ninety-two degrees E. longitude. Bounded on the W. by the Indus, on the E. by the Ganges; northward by Cashmere, and the chain of mountains which stretch along Lahore; southward by the Decan, or Deccan, and Golconda; including a vast extent of country, populous, fertile, highly cultivated, and abounding with manufactures.

The conquest of India by Sesostris king of Egypt, as related by Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. has been decided upon as fabulous by the judicious Strabo, who denies that Sesostris ever sat foot in India. Darius Hystaspes, after he had obtained the throne of Persia, allured by the opulent state of India, invaded it on the western border, and exacted a heavy tribute, which probably continued to be paid no longer than during his reign.

About a century and half afterward, Alexander the Great undertook his celebrated expedition into India, but the progress made either by the Persian or the Greek conqueror appears to have been little farther than along the western shore of the Indus, and the banks of the Ganges towards its source.

When Alexander undertook his expedition into India, the powerful empire which afterward arose there was not established, but the country consisted of several independent and extensive monarchies. After the death of Alexander, the conquests which he had made in India continued under the dominion of the Macedonians, being first governed by Pytho and afterward by Seleucus. Soon after the

the death of the latter, which was about two hundred and fifty years before the Christian æra, Dr. Robinson supposes the Macedonians were compelled to abandon their possessions in India. *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 33.

Some Greeks however still retained the kingdom of Bactria, and even extended their conquests very considerably. There were six princes who at one time reigned in Bactria, some of whom were distinguished by the title of "the Great King;" a mark of pre-eminence assumed by the monarchs of Persia when inflated by the plenitude of power. At length these potent princes were overwhelmed by a vast body of Tartars, which poured in upon them from the North, and the dominion of the Greeks in India was entirely subverted.

With their expulsion all knowledge of the internal state of the country was entirely lost, during the vast space of sixteen centuries. It was not until the Portuguese became acquainted with India, by sailing round the southern point of Africa, and boldly adventuring across the Indian ocean, that any knowledge of the history of India was obtained in Europe; although the spices, silks, porcelaine, pearls, and diamonds, which it yielded, had been obtained in all ages. Since the commerce of the East has been transferred successively to the maritime nations possessing the western coasts of Europe, the history of the powerful empires which occupy those reigons has been gradually developed. Concerning many of these

these countries, the Romish missionaries have given very copious information; but of the empire we are now to describe, the researches of English gentlemen, who have been long resident in some of its parts, have furnished the most full and satisfactory accounts; who, amidst commercial pursuits or military occupations, have found leisure to gratify a taste for literature, in a manner the most useful and laudable. Of these the indefatigable and discerning major Rennell has taken, beyond compare, the most extensive survey of the face of the country, and of its general history: he has, indeed, rendered Englishmen as well acquainted with the empire of Hindoostan, as with that of Great Britain. From the general mass of information the following sketch has been made.

That Mahomedan government, which afterward extended itself to Hindoostan, arose at first from a very small beginning among the mountains which divide Persia from India. The Afghans, or Patans, a warlike race of men, who had been subjects of the vast empire of Boehara, revolted under their governor Abstagi, in the fourth century of the Higera, or tenth of the Christian æra, and laid the foundation of the empire of Ghizni or Gazna.

The Afghans were divided into distinct communities, each of which was governed by a prince, who was considered by his subjects as the chief of their blood as well as their sovereign. They obeyed him without reluctance, as they derived credit to their family by his greatness. They attended him in his

wars

wars with the attachment which children have to a parent; and his government, though severe, partook more of the rigid discipline of a general, than of the caprice of a despot. Rude, like the face of their country, and fierce and wild as the storms which covered their mountains, they were addicted to incursions and depredations, and delighted in battle and plunder. United firmly to their friends in war; to their enemies faithless and cruel, they placed justice in force, and concealed treachery under the name of address. *Dow's History: Dissertation prefixed to Vol.* III. *pag.* xi.

Under a succession of warlike Patan princes, this empire rose to a surprising magnitude. In the beginning of the fifth century of the Higera, it extended from Ispahan to Bengal, and from the mouths of the Indus to the banks of the Jaxertes; which comprehends half of the great continent of Asia.

The Charizman empire, which arose on the confines of Persia and Great Tartary, circumscribed the kings of the Ghiznian Patans toward the north, and obliged them to transfer the seat of their empire to Lahore, and afterward to Delhi. Zingis Chan, who subverted the Charizmian empire, further reduced the emperor's dominions, which became entirely confined within the limits of Hindoostan. Amir Timur, or Tamerlane, a Tartarian emperor, distinguished for extensive and rapid conquests, invaded Hindoostan, A. D. 1397, and committed numberless acts of cruelty. In one day he caused all his prisoners,

prisoners, amounting to one hundred thousand, to be massacred in cold blood; which execrable deed was only a prelude to the slaughter which ensued upon taking of Delhi. The conqueror, however, contented himself with reducing the emperor to a tributary dependence upon him, and evacuated the country. From him the natives gave the country the name of *Mogulstan*, and the missionaries have denominated it "the empire of the Great Mogul," the throne having been long held by descendants from Tamerlane, who was a Mogul Tartar.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, possessed himself of the imperial dignity, and became emperor of Mogul. This prince was the wonder of the age in which he lived; he ascended the Tartarian throne when only twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty-eight years. He was generous and humane, a patron of learned men, and himself a scholar; he wrote his own commentaries in the Mogul language, which are universally admired. In a military capacity he was equalled by very few; he rendered the most daring enterprizes easy by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great soul. But, notwithstanding a considerable part of his life was spent in the field, he found intervals in which he gratified

gratified his paſſion for wine, women, and all the delights of courts. When diſpoſed to give himſelf up to pleaſure, he uſed to cauſe a fountain to be filled with wine, upon which was inſcribed a verſe to this effect, "Jovial days! blooming ſprings! old wine and young maidens! enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be enjoyed." He died A. D. 1530. Humaicoon, the ſon of this great man, reigned about twelve years, when he was dethroned, and obliged to ſeek ſafety by retiring into Perſia. Shere Shaw, an Afghan prince, then aſcended the throne in 1542; but Humaicoon recovered the kingdom of Hindooſtan twelve years afterward, during which period three more Patan princes had ſucceſſively reigned. The empire, on the reſtoration of Humaicoon, was again transferred from the Afghans to the Moguls. Mahummet Akbar ſucceeded his father on the throne, A. D. 1555, when he was only fourteen years of age. He was the ſixth in deſcent from Tamerlane; contemporary with Shah Abas, king of Perſia, ſurnamed "The Great," with Elizabeth queen of England, and Henry IV. of France: four other ſuch illuſtrious contemporary ſovereigns hiſtory perhaps does not exhibit. The reign of this prince has been very elaborately written by his vizier Abül Fazil, except the two laſt years of it, the author having been cut off by ruffians in the year 1603. The encomiums he pays the prince his maſter, are dictated in the moſt ſublime ſtyle of oriental adulation; but neither that, nor the violent death which overtook him, can ſupport a ſuſpicion that he was a groſs flatterer

 inſtead

instead of a faithful historian; for the memory of Akbar has been transmitted from age to age with the highest renown. This valuable piece of history has been lately translated into English by Mr. Gladwin. In the reign of Akbar, the empire of Hindostan was divided into twelve Soobahs, or vice-royalties. The internal regulation of the empire was much attended to by this prince. Inquiries were set on foot, by which the revenues, population, produce, religion, arts, and commerce of each district were ascertained, as well as its extent and relative position. Many of these interesting and useful particulars were, by Abul Fazel, collected into a book, called, "the Ayin Akbaree," or, Institutes of Akbar, which to this day forms an authentic register of these matters. "Akbar," says major Rennell, "began by dividing Hindoostan proper into eleven Soubahs or provinces, some of which were in extent equal to large European kingdoms. The soubahs were again divided into circars, and these subdivided into purgunnahs; resembling provinces, counties, and hundreds, as few circars are of less extent than the largest English counties. The names of the eleven soubahs were Lahore, Moultan (including Sindy), Agimere, Delhi, Agra, Oude, Allahabad, Bahar, Bengal, Malioa, and Guzerat: a 12th, viz. Cubal, was formed out of the countries contiguous to the western sources of the Indus, and included Candahar and Ghizni; three additional ones were erected after the conquests in the Deccan, viz. Berah, Candeish, and Amednagur." *Memoir of a Map,*

 Introd.

Introd. cx. It is said that this prince, who possessed strong natural endowments, and a great thirst for knowledge, was extremely desirous of being informed concerning the various religions which prevailed in the world: a Portuguese missionary instructed him in the religion of the church of Rome, called Christianity; an account of all the other systems of religion which prevailed in the world was easily obtained, except that of his own subjects, the Hindoos, who, as they admit no proselytes, scrupulously conceal the articles of their faith, and even the language of their scriptures. By the help of his minister Abul Fazel, a youth was imposed upon a Brahmin, as an orphan of that tribe, and was sent to their seminary of learning at Benares to be instructed in the sacred language and mysteries of the Hindoos' religion, for the purpose of imparting them, when acquired, to the emperor; but the youth, when qualified for the task assigned him, was so struck with horror at the intended profanation, that he discovered the whole design to his foster father, and the emperor remained ignorant of this mysterious faith to the day of his death. He reigned fifty-one years, (dying A. D. 1606,) in which time the wealth and consequence of his kingdom rose to an height before unknown. Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim ascended the throne in Agra, who assumed the title of Jahangire; he reigned twenty-two years, and dying, Shah Jehan obtained the Musnud, who, after a reign of thirty-two years, was deposed by his third son the famous Aurengzebe;

or

or Aurungzebe, who murdered or banished his two brothers, and took the name of Allumguire in 1659.

To Aurungzebe, or Allumgire, business was an amusement; he added to an extensive knowledge of the affairs of the empire, an unremitting application. He punished judges severely for corruption and partiality. His penetrating eye followed oppression to its most secret retreats, and his stern justice established tranquillity, and secured property over all his extensive dominions.

During the first nineteen years of his reign a profound peace prevailed throughout his extensive empire, which at length became interrupted by the attempts of the emperor to subdue the Deccan, an extensive country in the middle of the Indian peninsula, which after a severe conflict he nearly effected; but this acquisition proved the downfall of the empire to his successors. The enemy which alone was capable of opposing him in the field was Sevagee, who had acquired an extensive territory in those parts, and became the founder of the Mahratta power. He dying in 1680, his son Sambajee, who succeeded him, was betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, who put him to death.

That part of his conduct which reflected the greatest disgrace from his reign, was the severe persecution which he carried on against the Hindoos. The Rajpoot tribes in Agimere, irritated by the insults offered to their religion, rose in arms, and the emperor in person led an army against them; in which expedition he was enclosed among the moun-

tains, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner with all his troops: his empress was captured, but not detained. Notwithstanding, after this, in 1681, he took and destroyed Chitore, the famous capital of the Rana; he likewise destroyed all the objects of Hindoo worship found there; yet the spirits of these intrepid people remained invincible, and Aurungzebe found it necessary to conclude a peace. There is a letter extant written by Jeswont Sing, Rajah of Joudipoor, to the emperor, which has been translated by sir Charles Boughton Rouse, and is inserted in Mr. *Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, note* 49; it expostulates with the emperor on the unjust measures he was pursuing with respect to the Hindoos. "This letter," says major Rennell, "breathes the most perfect spirit of philanthropy, and of toleration in matters of religion, together with the most determined resolution, to oppose the meditated attack on the civil and religious rights of the Hindoos." *Memoir of a Map. Introduct. p. lxii. Note.*

This renowned emperor died 1707, in the ninetieth year of his age, at Amednagur, in the Deccan.

"Under his reign," says major Rennell, "the empire attained its full measure of extent. His authority reached from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude; and nearly as much in longitude. His revenue exceeded thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, in a country where the products of the earth are about four times as cheap as in England. But so weighty a sceptre could only be wielded by a hand

a hand like Aurungzebe's; and we accordingly find, that in a courfe of fifty years after his death, a fucceffion of weak princes and wicked minifters reduced this aftonifhing empire to nothing."

The following letter which Aurengzebe (or, according to Rennell, Aurungzebe) wrote to his fecond fon Azim (called by major Rennell, Azem) may ferve as a ftriking and falutary leffon to ambitious princes. It is preferved in *the Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, a nobleman in the court of Aurungzebe, who wrote in the Perfian language. A tranflation of thefe memoirs by captain Scott, was publifhed in 1786, and which is now prefixed to his Hiftory of the Deccan from Ferifhta's original, in 2 vols. 4to.

To Shaw Azim Shair.

" Health to thee; my heart is near thee; old age has arrived; weaknefs fubdues me; and ftrength has forfaken all my members. I came a ftranger into this world, and a ftranger I depart. I know nothing of myfelf, what I am, and for what I am deftined. The inftant I paffed in power has left me only forrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire: my valuable time has been paffed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (confcience), but his glorious light was unfeen by my dim fight. Life is not lafting, there is no veftige of departed breath, and all hopes of futurity are loft. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but fkin and bone. My fon (Kaun

Bulſh), though gone toward Bejapore, is ſtill near; and thou, my ſon, art ſtill nearer. The worthy, the eſteemed Shaw Auſum, is far diſtant, and my grandſon Azſem Ooſhaun, by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindoſtan. The camp and followers, helpleſs and alarmed, are, like myſelf, full of affliction; reſtleſs as the quickſilver; ſeparated from their Lord, they know not whether they have a maſter or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread of my ſalvation, and with what torments I may be puniſhed. Though I have ſtrong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may; I have launched my veſſel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my ſons are indiſpenſably incumbent. Give my laſt prayers to my grandſon (Bedar Bakht), whom I cannot ſee. But the deſire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The fooliſh thoughts of women produce nothing but diſappointment. Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!"

To the prince Kaun Bulſh, his third ſon (mentioned in the foregoing) he wrote at the ſame time, and much in the ſame ſtrain. In it he makes uſe of this ſtrong expreſſion: "The fever which troubled

bled me for twelve days has left me. Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity."

The accounts which are given by colonel Dow, together with other writers, and those by major Rennell, concerning the affairs of the empire during the life-time of Aurengzebe's sons, differ in a variety of particulars: the latter writer is chiefly followed here.

His sons were, Mauzum, who became emperor, under the title of Bahader Shah, (or Shaw) Azim, Kaun Bulsh, and Acbar: the latter had engaged in a rebellion during his father's reign, and fled to Persia, which accounts for his not being mentioned in the emperor's farewell letter. The contest for power, when Aurengzebe resigned his breath, first arose between Behader Shah and his next brother Azim. The armies which they commanded, for the purpose of deciding this mighty contest, are said to have consisted of about 300,000 men each (*Rennell, Introd.* lxiv.) a battle was fought near Agra, in which Azim was slain. Bahader Shah is described, by some writers, as a prince of considerable ability, and great attention to business; but the distracted state of public affairs, and the short interval which elapsed between the death of Azim and the appearance of his next brother, Kaun Bulsh, in arms to dispute with him the empire, caused his government to be imbecile and inefficient, although the death of this competitor suppressed that commotion. He died in 1712, as some writers assert, of discontent and grief; chiefly brought on by the restless ambition of his

own ſons. He left four, each of whom, on their father's death, ſeized upon what he could moſt readily acquire. Aziem Ooſhaun, the ſecond, obtained the treaſures, but he was preſently ſlain: the youngeſt, Jehaun Shah, fell in the next battle. The conteſt then lay between Jehaunder Shah, the eldeſt, and Bedur Bakht, the third, which was decided in favour of the former through the intrigues of Zoolfecar Khan, an omrah of vaſt influence. No ſooner were Jehaunder's apprehenſions of rivalſhip buried in his brothers' graves, than, agreeable to the general practice of theſe voluptuous Aſiatics, he abandoned himſelf wholly to the pleaſures of the ſeraglio; but a revolution, brought about by Houſſein Ali Khan and Abdoolla Khan, brothers, and omrahs of great power, placed Ferokſere, or Furrukhſir, ſon of the deceaſed Aziem Ooſhaun on the muſnud. This event took place nine months after the elevation of Jehaunder, according to Rennell; others ſay eighteen months.

Furrukhſir was now declared emperor; but whilſt he was inveſted with the external appendages of rule, the omrahs, who were the means of his advancement, reſerved to themſelves every eſſential act of power. The emperor, diſſatisfied at being made the mere ſtalking-horſe of ſtate, meditated revenge; which, according to the puſillanimous malignity which ſtamps the genius of this people, is among them always hidden and perfidious. The nobles were appriſed of his intentions, and by ſuperior addreſs counteracted his deſigns, and cauſed him to

to be ſtrangled; at the ſame time raiſing Raffael al Dirjaat, or Ruffieh-ul-Dirjat (a prince ſeventeen years old, a grandſon of Bahader Shah) to the throne; but finding that they had miſtaken the genius of this youth, they took him off by poiſon, and advanced his elder brother Raffael al Dowlat, or Ruffieh-ul-Dowlat, to the ſame dignity. All theſe tranſactions happened in the courſe of the year 1717.

It was in the reign of Ferokſere that the Engliſh Eaſt India company obtained the famous FIRMAN, or grant, by which their goods of export and import were exempted from duties or cuſtoms; and this was regarded as the company's commercial charter in India, while they ſtood in need of protection from the princes of the country. *Rennell*, p. lxvi.

The excluſive power aſſumed by theſe lords in conſequence of their creation and deſtruction of princes, became intolerable to ſuch great families as were not included in their junto: theſe united, and, in order to colour over their proceedings, undertook to releaſe Nicoſir, a prince of the blood-royal, from a forty years impriſonment in the caſtle of Agra, and to make him king; but this attempt terminated in their defeat; and the unhappy prince, who was drawn in by the ambition of others to bear a part in the inſurrection, was deprived of ſight, and delivered over to his former confinement. He ſoon after died a natural death at Delhi, 1719. The ſame great Omrahs maintaining their influence, cauſed Mahommed Shah, another grandſon of Bahader Shah, to be proclaimed emperor; who, in a ſhort time, by

an

an adroit exercise of his power, effected the destruction of the principal family whose influence had advanced himself and so many of his predecessors, to the Musnud. The two brothers, who had been the principals in bringing about these successions, were defeated and slain; and the emperor found himself actually a sovereign. Too weak to withstand the seductions of unbounded power; he gave himself up to the most criminal excesses; grew quite regardless of the welfare of his kingdom; and permitted the most destructive enormities to be practised with impunity. The distracted state of the kingdom induced Nadir Shah, at the instigation of Nizam-al-Muluck, viceroy of the Deccan, who was then ninety-four years of age, to invade it in 1738. The Nizam died in 1748, at the great age of one hundred and four years. An account of which invasion will be given in the Persian history.

The cruelties committed by this invader, in the city of Delhi and its environs, cannot fail to excite horror in the most insensible breast. The slightest tumult or commotion among the inhabitants, when starving for want of provisions, produced orders for a promiscuous carnage. Mr. Dow relates, that in one day, in consequence of an officer being killed by the side of Nadir Shah by a musket-shot, one hundred thousand, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, were laid dead in their blood. "Such was the panic-terror and confusion of these poor wretches," continues he, "that instead of bravely

opposing

opposing death, the men threw down their arms, and with their wives and children submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. One Persian soldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any resistance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous custom, shut up their wives and children, and set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames; "death," continues the same author, "was seen in every horrid shape; and at last seemed rather to be sought after than avoided." This massacre was succeeded by a general plunder of the city; the public treasury and regalia being first secured. The throne of the emperor, known throughout Hindostan by the name of "Tukhte-Taoos," or "the peacock throne," which was valued at ten crores of rupees, or about twelve millions and an half sterling, together with the other regalia, treasures, and valuables, amounting to no less than from seventy to eighty millions sterling, were all transferred to the conqueror. Great cruelties were exercised in extorting a discovery of concealed wealth. The damage done to the capital and the surviving inhabitants, on this occasion, was prodigious.

Ruin and desolation being spread over the city, the conqueror thought this a suitable season for celebrating the nuptials of his son Mirza Nasir Ali with the daughter of Ezidan Busth, grandson of the famous Aurengzebe; during which transaction the gates of the city were kept shut. Famine began to rage every day more and more, but the Shah was deaf

deaf to the miferies of mankind. The public fpirit of Tucki, a famous actor, deferves to be recorded upon this occafion. He exhibited a play before Nadir Shah, with which that monarch was fo well pleafed, that he commanded Tucki to afk what he wifhed fhould be done for him; Tucki fell on his face and faid, " O king, command the gates of this city to be opened, that the poor may not perifh." His requeft was granted, and half the city poured into the country, and was plentifully fupplied, in a few days, with provifions.

The king of Perfia having obtained all the money which could be procured in Delhi, after reinftating Mahommed Shah in the empire with great folemnity and pomp, returned into his own country. A general defection of the provinces foon after enfued; none were willing to yield obedience to a prince deprived of the power to enforce it. The provinces to the north-weft of the Indus had been ceded to Nadir Shah, who being affaffinated in 1747, Achmet Abdalla, his treafurer, a man of great intrepidity, who, like moft other Afiatic chieftains, knew no reftraints from the dictates of confcience, when occafions for grafping at power, however difhonourable, prefented themfelves, in the general confufion occafioned by the tyrant's death, found means to carry off three hundred camels loaded with wealth, which enabled him to affume a fovereignty, and he actually became king of Candahar; after which he put himfelf at the head of an army, and marched againft Delhi, having fifty thoufand horfe at his command,

command. Thus was the wealth drawn from Delhi made the means of continuing those miseries of war which it had at first brought upon them. The affrighted Delhians were struck with an universal panic. Ahmed Shah, the prince royal, Kimmer ul Diel, the vizier, with other leading men, in this extremity, took the field with eighty thousand horse, to oppose the invader. The war was carried on with various success, and before its termination, Mahommed Shah deceased, A. D. 1747, in the same year as his cruel conqueror, Nadir Shah. Ahmed Shah, the son of Mahommed, then mounted the imperial throne at Delhi. The empire grew every day more into decay. The Mahrattas, a warlike nation, possessing the western peninsula of India, had, before the invasion of Nadir Shah, exacted a chout, or tribute, from the empire, arising out of the revenues of the Bengal province, which being withheld, in consequence of the enfeebled state of the empire, they became clamorous. The empire began to totter to its foundation; every petty chief, by counterfeiting grants from Delhi, laid claim to jaghiers and to districts. The country was rent and defaced by civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bands of private friendship and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if among a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm.

Ahmed

Ahmed Shah reigned only ſeven years, being depoſed, in 1753, by Gazi, an omrah of great capacity and power; who ſet Allumguire, a lineal deſcendant from Aurengzebe, as a nominal emperor, upon the throne; whom for that purpoſe he had releaſed from confinement. The emperor finding himſelf deſtitute of the authority properly annexed to his dignity, determined at any rate to deſtroy the influence of Gazi; for which purpoſe he invited Abdalla to ſupport him on the throne: which produced ſuch conſequences as the calling in a foreign hoſtile power to adjuſt civil diſſenſions has ever done. The Perſian, after ſeizing upon every thing valuable which he could procure, retired, and left Allumgire to weep over his exhauſted treaſures. At length, Gazi ſeeing no means of maintaining his authority whilſt the king lived, by a ſtratagem cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. A. D. 1760.

The factions among the great, which roſe on the death of the emperor, left the country expoſed to a freſh invaſion from Abdalla: this was the ſixth time he had entered it. He once more laid the city of Delhi under heavy contributions, and enforced the collection with ſuch rigour and cruelty, that the unfortunate inhabitants, driven to deſpair, took up arms. The Perſian, on this, ordered a general maſſacre, which, without intermiſſion, laſted for ſeven days. A great part of the buildings were at the ſame time reduced to aſhes, and many thouſands, who had eſcaped the ſword, ſuffered a lingering death by famine, ſitting upon the ſmoking ruins of

their

their own houſes. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which in the days of its glory extended itſelf ſeventeen crores, or coſs, or about thirty-four miles in length, and was ſaid to contain two millions of people, became almoſt an heap of rubbiſh. Abdalla now, conſidering himſelf arbiter of the fate of Hindoſtan, marched againſt the Mahrattas, who alone obſtructed his views. Theſe had created Jewan Bucht, then thirteen years of age, grandſon of Allumgire, and ſon of Shah Aulum, emperor. Abdalla defeated theſe people in a deciſive battle, in which the Mahomedan force is ſaid to have amounted to 150,000 men, and the army of the Mahrattas to 200,000: the records of Hindooſtan do not take notice of any action ſo obſtinate and bloody as this. The conqueror then confirmed the young Jewan Bucht on the throne, now circumſcribed in authority to the provinces of Delhi. He previouſly invited the father of this youth to Delhi, promiſing to ſeat him on the throne of his anceſtors; but Shah Allum, who was then in Bahar, did not choose to put himſelf in the power of this maker of emperors. After the departure of Abdalla, Shah Allum made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to engage the Engliſh in his intereſts. At length, ſays Mr. Bolts, after experiencing various calamities, the Engliſh company condeſcended to create him their Great Mogul. *Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan. Holwell's Intereſting Events, part* 1. *Bolts's Conſiderations.*

"The provinces of Agra and Delhi, and that whole neighbourhood," ſays major Rennell, "are in the

 moſt

moſt wretched ſtate that can be conceived. Having been the ſeat of wars for more than fifty years, the country is almoſt depopulated, and moſt of the lands of courſe are lying waſte; the wretched inhabitants not daring to provide more than the bare means of ſubſiſtence, for fear of attracting the notice of thoſe whoſe trade is pillage. Nothing but the natural fertility of the ſoil, and the mildneſs of the climate, could have kept up any degree of population, and rendered the ſovereignty of it at this day worth contending for. So that a tract of country which poſſeſſes every advantage that can be derived from nature, contains the moſt miſerable inhabitants: ſo dearly do mankind pay for the ambition of their ſuperiors, who, miſcalculating their powers, think they can govern as much as they can conquer. In the Mogul empire many parts of it were a thouſand miles diſtant from the ſeat of government; and accordingly its hiſtory is one continued leſſon to kings not to graſp at too much dominion; and to mankind to circumſcribe the undertakings of their rulers." *Introd.* lxxviii.

When the Engliſh acknowledged Shah Allum to be the nominal emperor of Hindooſtan, they aſſigned the city of Allahabad for the place of his reſidence; but the deſcendant of Timur could ill brook his mock elevation, he was reſtleſs to poſſeſs the capital city of his anceſtors, ſunk as it was. After reſiding ſix years at Allahabad, he renounced the protection of the Engliſh to obtain that of the Mahrattas, induced to this conduct by the aſſurances he

had

had received from them, of being seated on the throne of Delhi. But the views of those people were merely to make him the instrument of their own aggrandizement, and such consequences it became essentially necessary for the British government to prevent; they therefore revoked all the grants which they had made to *their* emperor. Whilst in this unprovided state, he went to Delhi, where he lived upon a very scanty allowance. His wants, however, became so pressing, that his son Jewan Buckt applied to Mr. Hastings when at Oude, in 1784, to solicit assistance from the English on his father's account: how far he proved successful we are not informed. This governor-general of Bengal, when solicited by a prince of the ancient and august house of Timur, for a charitable contribution to support an emperor of that house, could have no insight into the reverse of fortune which awaited himself, when, in his own country, he should stand before the highest tribunal there, a prisoner, to answer numerous and heavy accusations!

Recent accounts from India have made us acquainted with the melancholy end of this unfortunate emperor. The Rohilla chief, Golam Cawdir, having taken possession of Delhi in the year 1789, put out the eyes of Shah Allum, who soon after suffered an excruciating death. *Rennell*, 365.

Having spoken of the extent and wealth of Delhi, curiosity will certainly be gratified by giving some general description of that renowned city.

Delhi, the capital of the province of the same name, is situated in seventy-nine degrees E. longitude from London, and in twenty-eight degrees N. latitude, and stands on the river Jemma, which divides it into two parts: that last built was erected by Shah Jehan, and from the founder was called Jehanabad; but the Europeans give to both the common name of Delhi. In the part built by that emperor, all the houses enclosed spacious courts, and in the inner part of these buildings the people lodged, to prevent any from approaching the place appointed for their women. Most of the great men had houses without the city, on account of the conveniency of the waters.

The entrance into the city was by a long street, on each side of which were regular arches, under which the merchants had their shops. This street led to the palace, which was above a mile and an half in circumference. The wall was built of hewn stone, with battlements, and at every tenth battlement was a tower.

The extensive stables which were attached to this palace, whilst the splendour of the Mogul was at its height, were always filled with the finest horses, in which the monarch took great delight; these were brought from Arabia, Persia, and Tartary, at a great expence. Before every stable-door hung a kind of mat made of reeds, and bound together with silk, twisted in the form of flowers. These were intended to prevent the flies from entering; but they were

not

not ſatisfied with this precaution; every horſe having two grooms, who relieved one another, and fanned the animal continually. All the day they had carpets over them, and at night they lay upon a litter made of their own dung, dried in the ſun, and well pounded.

The other public buildings in this city were, a great moſque, which had ſeveral fine marble domes; and a noble caravanſera, built by a Mogul princeſs, for the accommodation of ſtrangers.

In modern times no inſtance occurs of devaſtation brought on a magnificent city equal to that which overwhelmed Delhi; and perhaps in wealth it was ſuperior to the boaſted cities of antiquity, whoſe ancient grandeur is yet to be traced in their ſtupendous ruins. During the latter part of the laſt century, it is reported to have contained two millions of inhabitants. Nadir Shah is ſuppoſed to have plundered it of ſixty-two millions ſterling; and even after that, ample gleanings accrued to Abdalla.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EMPERORS

Who have reigned in HINDOOSTAN since the Ghisnian conquest.

(From the third Edition of Major RENNEL's Memoir of a Map.)

	Began his reign
* Mahmood I.	A. D. 1000
Mahomed I. } Musaood I. }	1028
Modood	1041
Musaood II. } Ali }	1051
Reschid } Feroch Zaad }	1052
Ibraim I.	1056
Musaood III.	1098
Arsilla	1115
Byram I.	1118
Chusero I.	1152
Chusero II.	1159
GHORIAN, or GAURIAN Emperor.	
Mahomed II. or Mahomed Ghori	1184
PATAN, or AFGHAN Emperors.	
Cuttub	1205
Eldoze } Aram } Altumsh, or Iltumsh }	1210
Ferose I.	1235
Sultana Rizia, Empress	1236
Byram II.	1239
Musaood IV.	1242
Mahmood II.	1245
Balin	1265
Keikobad	1286
Ferose II.	1289
Alla I.	1295
Omar	1316
Mubarick I.	1317
Tuglick	1321
Mahomed III.	1325
Ferose III.	1351
Tuglick II.	1388

	Began his reign
Mahomed IV. } Abu-Bicker }	A. D. 1389
† Mahmood III.	1393
Dynasty of the SEIDS.	
Chizer	1414
Mubarick II.	1421
Mahomed V.	1433
Alla II.	1447
Dynasty of LODI.	
Beloli	1450
Secunder I.	1488
Ibrahim II.	1516
MOGUL, or MUNGUL Emperors.	
Baber	1525
Humaioon	1530
Second PATAN Dynasty.	
Shere	1542
Selim	1545
Mahomed VI. } Ibrahim III. }	1552
MOGUL Dynasty restored.	
Humaioon	1554
Acbar	1559
Jehanguire	1605
Shah Jehan	1628
Aurenzebe, or Allumguire I.	1659
Bahader Shah	1707
Jehaunder Shah	1712
Ferokfere	1713
Ruffieh-ul-Dirjat } Ruffiel-ul-Dowlah }	1717
‡ Mahomed Shah	1718
Ahmed Shah	1748
Allumguire II.	1753
Shah Aulum	1760

* He began his reign in Ghizni, A. D. 977.

† Tamerlane's invasion happened in this reign.

‡ The invasion of Nadir Shah took place in this reign.

The

The HINDOO *or* GENTOO *Hiſtory.*] "There is no known hiſtory of Hindooſtan," ſays major Rennell, "(that reſts on the foundation of Hindoo materials or records) extant, before the period of the Mahomedan conqueſts: for either the Hindoos kept no regular hiſtories, or they were all deſtroyed, or ſecluded from common eyes by the Pundits. We may judge of their traditions in general by that exiſting concerning Alexander's expedition: which is, that he fought a great battle with the emperor of Hindooſtan, near Delhi; and though victorious, retired to Perſia acroſs the northern mountains. So that the remarkable circumſtance of his ſailing down the Indus, in which he employed many months, is ſunk altogether: and yet perhaps few events of ancient times, reſt on better foundations than this part of the hiſtory of Alexander. It is chiefly to Perſian pens that we are indebted for that portion of Indian hiſtory which we poſſeſs." *Memoir of a Map, third edition, Introd.* p. xl.

The empire of the Hindoos or Gentoos over all India, as tradition maintains, came down from the darkeſt and moſt remote antiquity to the one hundred and ſeventieth year before the Chriſtian æra, when it was diſſolved by civil diſcord and war. Bengal, like many other provinces, ſtarted up into an independent kingdom, and was governed by ſucceſſive dynaſties of rajahs; who chiefly reſided at the now-deſerted capital of Ghor. Under theſe princes it continued a powerful and opulent kingdom to the beginning of the thir-

 teenth

teenth century, when it was firſt invaded by the Mahomedans, under a prince of the race of Chillagi, who poſſeſſed the countries near the ſource of the Oxus (the modern Jihon). The name of this Tartar invader was Eas-ul-dien. But he was ſoon after reduced to ſubjection by Altamſh, the Patan emperor of Delhi, who formed Bengal into a province, which was governed by a lieutenant.

Bengal, during the dominion of the Patans in India, was frequently ſubject to revolution and change. Akbar the great, by the expulſion of Daood, the laſt king of Bengal of the Patan race, annexed it, in the year 1574, to his empire.

It then became governed by a viceroy, known by the names of Nabob, Subah, and Nazim. This officer held his dignity only during pleaſure.

Jaffier Khawn, nabob of Bengal, in 1717, obtained from the emperor of Hindoſtan the governments of Bahar and Oriſſa, to be annexed to that of Bengal, which ever before had been diſtinct and ſeparate nabobſhips. With this new acquiſition of power he removed from Dacca, then the chief reſidence of the Soubahs, to Moorſhedabad, and that city then became the capital of the province. In 1725, Jaffier Khawn deceaſed, to the great joy of the provinces, which he had ruled with a rod of iron. Soujah Khawn, his ſon-in-law, ſucceeded him: upon his demiſe, in 1719, his ſon Serfraz Khawn took poſſeſſion of the government, and maintained himſelf in it for about three years, until the rebellion of

Allaverdi

Allaverdi Khawn, who was then governor of the Bahar province. This man, who had formerly been Soujah Khawn's Hookahburdar, or pipe-bearer, after promoting an unparalleled scene of treachery among the perfidious servants of his master, defeated him in a battle fought on the twenty-eighth of January, 1742, in which the nabob lost his life. From that period the traitor usurped the government of Bengal, and maintained himself in it against the repeated invasions of the Mahrattas, which lasted for about eight years, to the great destruction of the country and its manufactures, till, on the tenth of April, 1756, he died a natural death.

This usurper was succeeded by his brother's grandson, the tyrant Serajah ul Dowlah, who, upon some disputes with the English East-India Company's servants, dispossessed them of their factories; and, on the twentieth of June, 1756, seized and sacked the town and fort of Calcutta, and Fort William: when such of the English, and their dependants, as escaped the tyrant's fury, took refuge on board the trading vessels then in the river, and dropped down the Tultah, where they led a most miserable life till the December following, when the English squadron under the command of admirals Watson and Pocock, with the troops under lieutenant-colonel Robert Clive, arrived from the coast of Coromandel. Inconsiderable as this force was, they gallantly proceeded to the re-taking of Calcutta, and on the third of January, 1757, happily accomplished their work,

with ſcarce any loſs. The Engliſh, by unparalleled inſtances of bravery and good conduct, attended with the moſt extraordinary good fortune, baffled the nabob in all his attempts, and forced him, with his numerous army, to retire to his capital of Moorſhedabad, having firſt compelled him to enter into a very advantageous treaty, wherein he confirmed all the former poſſeſſions and immunities of the company, and granted ſeveral new privileges. This was the firſt formal treaty the company had ever entered into with any nabob of Bengal. It was ſolemnly ratified in the ſtrongeſt manner.

About this period, the Engliſh at Calcutta received news of war being declared againſt France, and they preſently diſcovered that the French were ſecretly negociating with the nabob. It was thereupon reſolved to ſet aſide a neutrality, which had been at firſt propoſed, and to attack the French ſettlements immediately. A reſolution no ſooner taken than ſucceſsfully executed. Chandernagore, the principal ſettlement of the French in Bengal, ſurrendered on the 23d of March. The town and fortifications were afterward raſed and levelled with the ground.—But to reſume the account of the war with the nabob.

About three months after the execution of the treaty with Serajah ul Dowlah, it was reſolved by the Engliſh to diſpoſſeſs him of his Vizamut, or viceroyſhip, and to give it to another. Accordingly Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, who had been a Jammadar, or commander of a party of horſe under the late

late Allaverdi Khawn, and was now a general, and related to the present nabob by marriage, was the man pitched upon for the succession. In consequence of which, articles of agreement were privately sent to him by Colonel Clive, on the second of May, 1757. The nabob, Serajah ul Dowlah, betrayed by his servant Jaffier, was, with his numerous army of twenty thousand horse, fifty thousand foot, and fifty pieces of heavy cannon, defeated on the plains of Plassey, on the twenty-third of June, 1757, by a handful of men under the command of colonel Clive, and the nabob himself obliged to escape in disguise. The consequences of this victory to the company were important beyond measure, for their existence in India depended on the decision of that day. Colonel Clive shewed a noble intrepidity in resolving to cross the Ganges with his army, and attack the enemy, contrary to the opinion of a great majority, when a council of war was held. He had no opportunity of displaying himself in the field: the chief glory there was won by major Kilpatrick.

Six days after this action Meer Jaffier was formally placed on the Musnud, or throne of the nabobs of Bengal, by colonel Clive, at Moorshedabad.

A treaty was then entered into between Meer Jaffier and the East-India Company, whereby the former not only confirmed their possessions and privileges, and the treaty made with his predecessor, but granted farther privileges and territories, beside paying

paying immenſe ſums of ready money both to the company and individuals.

It was on this revolution that colonel Clive (late lord Clive) was created an omrah of the empire by Meer Jaffier; for the ſupport of which, the nabob made him a jagueerdar, or lord of the lands ceded by the above treaty to the Engliſh company; producing annually near thirty thouſand pounds ſterling: beſide which, his lordſhip received in preſents to the amount of near 300,000 *l.* ſterling.

In the mean time the expelled nabob Serajah Dowlah was diſcovered on his flight to Ragemahl, ſeized, and ſent down to Moorſhedabad, where he was privately murdered by order of Jaffier.

The Dutch at Bengal, ſeeing the diſtracted ſtate of the country, and the uſes made of nabobs from the ſuperiority of European diſcipline, determined, in their turn, to adventure in the ſame way: but they were ſoon obliged to accede to very diſadvantageous articles of accommodation with their more powerful rival.

The Engliſh, upon theſe numerous and ſignal ſucceſſes, had acquired ſo great a reputation, and ſpread ſuch terror through the country, that they might with eaſe have marched to Delhi. Revolutions had now become a trade, or at leaſt a fund to ſupply the exigencies of the company and their ſubſtitutes. Little more than three years had elapſed before it was thought expedient to diſpoſſeſs Meer Jaffier of the government. He is univerſally deſcribed as a conſummate villain, and his conduct

proves

proves him to be ſuch. Lord Clive, in his ſpeech in the houſe of commons, delivered the thirtieth of March, 1772, ſays, p 40, "The old nabob, Meer Jaffier, if ever Muſſulman had a friendſhip for a chriſtian, had a friendſhip for me." But lord Clive (then colonel Clive) had quitted Bengal, and the men who took the lead not finding the nabob's feelings aſſimilate with their own, determined on a freſh revolution. This was brought about in favour of Meer Coſſim Ally Khawn, who had married Jaffier's daughter; by virtue of which alliance his father-in-law was diſplaced without any commotion or bloodſhed. This event took place on the twenty-ſeventh of September, 1760.

In leſs than three years after Coſſim's advancement, deſigns were formed to deprive him of the honours which he received. But his tenure was too ſtrong to be ſhaken except by open violence; accordingly war was declared againſt him on the ſeventh of July, 1763, and it was reſolved upon to reinſtate Meer Jaffier. A very reſolute and doubtful conflict enſued, in which the Engliſh, who at firſt fought for empire, were at length obliged to contend for exiſtence. The ſucceſs of the war was for ſome time ſo uncertain, that (contrary to all former practice) the writers, and other young perſons in the civil ſervice of the company, were all accoutred, diſciplined, and formed into a military corps. The battle of Gareea, which for a long time kept victory in ſuſpenſe, at length decreed her to the Engliſh; in conſe-
quence

quence of which, Meer Coſſim was forced to take refuge with the nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, ſon to the late nabob of that name, whilſt his father-in-law was reinſtated in his government. Jaffier had been brought down to the Engliſh ſettlement at Calcutta, where a monthly ſtipend was allowed him for his ſubſiſtence, during the advancement of Coſſim, but he died on the fifth of February, 1765, ſoon after his re-elevation; which furniſhed a freſh occaſion for the company's ſervants to circumſcribe the power of the nabobs in the perſon of his ſucceſſor, his eldeſt ſon Najim ul Dowlah, a youth of about eighteen years of age; who, after having granted away almoſt every remaining prerogative, was ſuffered to bear the title of nabob.

The alarm which the reſolute ſtand of Coſſim's troops againſt thoſe of the Company ſpread in England, inclined the proprietory to ſend out lord Clive, as the only man whoſe preſence could regain their wonted ſuperiority. He arrived ſoon after the mock elevation of Najim ul Dowlah. The extenſive powers with which this nobleman, in conjunction with a ſelect committee, was inveſted, would not ſuffer him to ſit down an inactive ſpectator of the tranquillity which he found re-eſtabliſhed. He and the committee therefore thought fit to ſet aſide the treaties juſt before ratified with the emperor Shah Allum (ſee the hiſtory of the Mogul empire) and the expelled nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and new agreements were entered into, by which the Engliſh received a grant from

 the

the emperor of the Dewannee, or imperial revenue of Bengal, which grant Najim ul Dowlah confirmed, and agreed to accept the annual sum of fifty-three lacks and eighty-six thousand sicca rupees, or about six hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred and sixty-six pounds sterling, for the support of his government. He also agreed to pay to the emperor twenty-six lacks, or three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds per annum, for having granted the dewannee or revenues of his province to the English East-India Company; who, having obtained a confirmation of this grant from the king of Great Britain, became securities for the nabob Najim ul Dowlah regularly paying that sum to the emperor. Within two or three months after the arrangements above mentioned, the select committee thought fit to reduce the nabob's appointment to less than forty-two lacks; but he died, says Mr. Bolts, suddenly, the eighth of May 1766, within fifteen months after his exaltation to the musnud. His brother, Meer Kaneyah Seyf ul Dowlah, a youth of about fifteen years of age, was honoured with the title of nabob: his stipend, according to Mr. Bolts, was reduced to thirty-six lacks; but Mr. Verelst denies the fact; however, he did not long enjoy this high station, for he too, according to Mr. Bolts, died suddenly on the tenth of March 1770. Mr. Verelst, on the other hand, asserts that he died of the small-pox, after an illness of eleven days. The next nabob was Mobareck ul Dowlah, the youngest and only surviving

surviving son of Meer Jaffier, who was thirteen years of age when his brother died; his allowance, upon his accession, was settled by the company's servants in Bengal at thirty-two lacks a year, but the court of directors reduced it to sixteen lacks, which was the sum paid for some years. *Dow's Enquiry into the State of Bengal. Holwell's Historical Events of Bengal, part* i. *Vansittart's Narrative, vol.* i. *Bolts's Considerations. Verelst's Account of Bengal.*

The war with France, which broke out in the year 1756, though it produced less splendid victories, yet conferred more substantial renown on the commanders who conducted it. A fresh supply of men and ships from Europe, in 1759, gave a new face to affairs. M. d'Aché commanded a very strong squadron; and M. de Lally, an experienced officer, was at the head of two thousand European soldiers. At first they proceeded with a success equal to the superiority of their strength; but the vigorous measures of admiral Pocock, the revered Watson having died at Calcutta, at length prevailed at sea; while M. de Lally on shore was impeded in his operations by want of money to pay his troops. He attempted much, but performed little; not from a deficiency either of courage or military skill, but because a tyrannic spirit rendered him odious to those who served under him; and the intrigues, which at that time prevailed in the court of France, caused him to be unsupported and even abandoned by administration in Europe.

In

In 1760 the French were driven out of all their territories on the Coromandel coast, except Pondicherry, and a few inconsiderable places. A very decisive battle was fought that campaign before Wandewash; in which the French, notwithstanding their great superiority in point of numbers, were totally defeated by colonel Coote. The battle of Plassey exceeded this in its consequences, but by no means equalled it in the fame reflected on the commander who achieved it. A disgraceful defeat of the French at sea followed soon after; and before the close of the campaign they were pent within the single fortress of Pondicherry.

As soon as the cessation of the periodical rains permitted, the siege of Pondicherry was regularly begun, in 1761. A blockade had been formed round the town whilst the weather would not allow of more active measures, which had intercepted all supplies of provisions, so that the besieged were soon reduced to the most extreme distress. They lived upon camels, elephants, dogs, and cats: the great scarcity even of this wretched provision increased their misery. Sixteen rupees had been paid for the flesh of a dog. At length the place was taken, and, by the haughty conduct of M. Lally, who refused any terms of capitulation, was given up to plunder. The garrison consisted of about fourteen hundred European soldiers: the place contained a vast quantity of military stores, and great wealth. Together with Pondicherry, all footing on the Coromandel coast was lost to the

 French;

French; but by the definitive treaty in 1763 that ſettlement was reſtored to them.

The country powers, and all dread of European rivalſhip, thus annihilated, an extenſive, rich, and populous empire fell into the hands of the ſervants of a trading company of Britiſh merchants. Unparralleled proſpects of wealth and of power then opened both to the collective body, and to individuals acting under its appointment. The moſt rigid virtue was required to reſiſt ſuch allurements; what then muſt we ſuppoſe to have been the exercise of ſuch an aſcendency, when it is conſidered, that India had then for many years been the country to which the moſt daring, enterpriſing, and reſtiff ſpirits, which the mother country produced, had migrated? A few large fortunes, rapidly acquired in India, diffuſed ſuch a ſpirit of emigration among the prodigally-avaricious at home, as occaſioned a very ſalutary diſcharge of the peccant humours in the body politic: but theſe fortune-hunters, let looſe upon the inoffenſive natives of Bengal, produced the moſt baneful effects in the country. Now the labour of the poor Gentoo muſt be increaſed, and his reward withheld, in order that Engliſh adventurers might return to their native country conſpicuous in all the ſplendour of wealth. Hence aroſe the complaints of the governing powers at home, that the licentious and rapacious ſpirit of individuals was not to be controled by the utmoſt exertion of their authority; whilſt, on the other hand, the ſame impatient ſpirit to acquire private

private fortunes to themfelves, was retorted in charge againft thofe to whom the company had delegated the fuperintendency of their interefts.

Dreadful have been the oppreffions practifed on the defencelefs natives: enormous were the depredations on the wealthy, and fevere the fufferings of the poor: to the latter, deftructive monopolies, and artificial fcarcities, caufed a want of thofe very few neceffaries which the moft abftemious habits of life required. The Britifh legiflature was impelled by every principle of humanity and juftice, as well as of political wifdom and found policy, to correct fuch flagrant abufe of power; for which purpofe many falutary laws have been paffed, and the moft effectual meafures have been taken, with a view to check the rapacity of individuals, and to eftablifh a mild and equitable government in the country; in confequence of which, the accounts brought for fome time paft bear teftimony to the good effects already produced, and to the tranquillity, harmony, and profperity, which prevail.

When France thought fit to interfere in the contention between Great Britain and her American colonies, Pondicherry firft fell a facrifice to this intriguing fpirit; but a formidable enemy arifing to the Englifh, in the perfon of Heider Alli, a wafteful, deftructive, and inglorious war was maintained on the peninfula of India. The Britifh fleet was no longer commanded by a Pocock, and admiral Sir Hyde Parker, who was fent out to reftore the tarnifhed luftre of the nation in thofe feas, was moft unhappily loft on his paffage thither. Pondicherry once more reverted

to France at the peace of 1783, but its fortifications had been previously rased, and its consequence lost.

POSSESSIONS of the ENGLISH in INDIA.] Bengal is well known by giving its name to the greatest gulf in Asia, which separates the two peninsulas of the Indies. This kingdom, which is situated at the N. W. extremity of the gulf, extends six hundred miles from E. to W. and three hundred from N. to S. It consists of one vast plain, of the most fertile soil in the world, which, in common with other parts of Hindostan, renders two, and in some parts three crops a year. Its chief produce is *sugar*, *silk*, *fruits*, *pepper*, *opium*, *rice*, *salt-petre*, *gum-lack*, and *civet*. It is usually compared to Egypt for its fertility, the river Ganges here dividing itself into several branches, and annually overflowing the country as the Nile does Egypt.

The British nation possesses, in full sovereignty, the whole soubah of Bengal, and the greatest part of Bahar; but in that province there are several pergunnahs on the S. W. which are now in possession of the Mahrattas: in Orissa they possess only the districts of Midnapour; the rest being entirely in the hands of the Mahrattas, or their tributaries. The British possessions in these three provinces contain about 150,000 square British miles of land, to which, if we add the district of Benares, the whole will be 162,000 miles, which is 30,000 more than are contained in Great Britain and Ireland. The native inhabitants are estimated at eleven millions. The revenue, including that of Benares, (which, since the

 deposition

depofition of Cheit Sing, in 1783, has been fixed at four millions of ficca rupees, or 380,000 pounds fterling,) major Rennell ftates to have been, in the year 1786, about 287 lacks of ficca rupees, valued at 2*s.* 1¼*d.* which may be reckoned equal to 3,750,000 pounds fterling. This includes cuftoms, mint, &c. clear of charges, 120,000 pounds; falt revenue 430,000 pounds; and opium 60,000 pounds. The fubfidy from the nabob of Oude is a farther amount of 460,000 pounds, which increafes the whole amount to 4,210,000 pounds. The various charges arifing from collecting the revenue, civil and military eftablifhments, marine, and fortifications, amount to 2,540,000 pounds. So that the net revenues arifing from thefe provinces amount to 1,670,000 pounds fterling.

The land revenue from Madras, including the northern Circars, the fame author gives at 725,000 pounds; the Carnatic fubfidy at 160,000 pounds; the Tanjore fubfidy at 160,000 pounds; the cuftoms, &c. 25,000 pounds; total 1,070,000 pounds. The expences confift in military charges on the Company's and Nabob's account, 770,000 pounds; charges of collecting the revenues 85,000 pounds; civil eftablifhments, fortifications, &c. 130,000 pounds; amounting in the whole to 985,000 pounds. The total net revenue of Madras is ftated to be 85,000 pounds.

At Bombay the difburfements exceed the receipts by about 300,000 pounds; and at the fettlement of

 Bencoolen,

Bencoolen, on the iſland of Sumatra, the annual charges are about 50,000 pounds; which when deducted, the total net revenue, drawn from the territorial poſſeſſions in India, by the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, is ſtated to be 1,405,000 pounds.

The company's military eſtabliſhment in India, in time of peace, is about 10,000 Europeans, and 52,000 regular ſepoy infantry. It appears alſo, that the ſum total of the ſales of Eaſt India and China merchandiſe, imported into England in one year, has amounted to five millions and a quarter ſterling. *Rennell's Introd. pages* 113, 114, 115.

The natural ſituation of Bengal is ſingularly happy with reſpect to ſecurity from the attacks of foreign enemies. On the N. and E. it has a ſtrong barrier of mountains, rivers, and extenſive waſtes; but on thoſe quarters it has no warlike neighbours. On the S. is a ſea-coaſt guarded by ſhallows and impenetrable woods, with only one port, and that of difficult acceſs, in an extent of 300 miles. It is on the W. only that any enemy is to be apprehended, and even there the natural barrier is ſtrong; which, with its population, reſources, and conſtant military force, compoſed of ſepoys and Britiſh, fully ſecure it from attack; but even ſuppoſing an invaſion to be effected from that quarter, the country beyond the Ganges would be exempt from the ravages of war, and furniſh ſupplies for the general defence.

GOVERNMENT of the MOGUL.] The emperor

was absolute and sole arbiter of every man's fate, and under the control of no law. All the lands in India were considered as the property of the king, except some districts which were the hereditary possession of certain Hindoo princes. The title of Great Mogul appears to have been adopted upon no other authority than that of the French missionaries, who, in the first publication of their travels to the East, have been pleased to stile him the *Grand Mogul*. No appellation or title given this monarch in the empire serves to confirm this description of him, where he is called simply *Shah*, or *Padshah*; in Persian meaning king. *Bolts's Considerations, page* 22.

According to the opinion of the Indians, the right of succession is vested in the eldest son; but the last will of the Shah very often counteracted this claim of primogeniture. All children born in the haram were alike legitimate, whether the issue of wives or concubines.

The vizier was generally first minister of state. All edicts and public deeds were used to pass under his seal, after the royal signet was affixed to them. He superintended the royal exchequer, and in that capacity kept accounts with the *dewans* or receivers-general of the provinces, in every thing respecting the finances.

A *Vakiel Mutuluck* was an officer elected only in times of exigency; and during his continuance the Shah delegated to him his whole power, reserving

only to himſelf the imperial title and enſigns of royalty.

The Mogul ſyſtem of government admitted of no hereditary honours. The ranks and degrees of nobility were for the moſt part official, excepting thoſe of the military kind. The nobles, or omrahs, conſiſted of three orders: the *Emers*, who were the firſt officers of ſtate, and the viceroys of provinces; the *Chans*, who held high poſts in the army; and the *Bahadurs*, who may in ſome meaſure be compared to our knights. The number of which theſe three orders conſiſted was arbitrary, and each of them had peculiar privileges in the empire.

No princes in the world patronized men of letters with more generoſity and reſpect than the Mahomedan emperors of Hindooſtan. A genius for literature was not only the means to acquire a degree of wealth which muſt aſtoniſh Europeans, but an infallible road for riſing to the firſt offices in the ſtate. The character of the learned was at the ſame time ſo ſacred, that tyrants, who made a paſtime of embruing their hands in the blood of their other ſubjects, not only abſtained from offering violence to men of genius, but ſtood in fear of their pens. And, however amazing it may ſeem in abſolute governments, it is certain, that the hiſtorians of that diviſion of the world have written with more freedom, concerning perſons and things, than writers have dared to do in the weſt. *Dow's Hindoſtan.*

The

The great officers of ſtate, by a kind of preſcription, formed a council, which anſwered to our cabinet. The emperor aſked their advice upon affairs of moment; he heard their ſentiments; but nothing was decided by vote. They were his adviſers, but they had no control on his power. He frequently called to this council men in inferior departments; and when the deliberation concerned any particular province, the nobles beſt acquainted with that part of the empire were admitted into the cabinet. The offences of the firſt rank of nobility came under the cognizance of this council, as well as other matters of ſtate. They were a kind of grand jury, who found the matters of fact, and the ſovereign pronounced the ſentence. He might, by his deſpotic power, iſſue out a warrant of death without their advice; but the known opinions of mankind on that ſubject bound him like a law.

The emperor gave public audience twice a day from the throne; this every Mahomedan prince is bound to do by the laws of the Koran. (*Mrs. Kinderſley's Letters, page* 187.) All petitioners were permitted to approach him; their petitions were delivered to the *Arez Beg*, or lord of the requeſts; he preſented them to the king, who ſignified his pleaſure in a conciſe manner with his own hand, ſuperſcribed to the petition. In matters of intricacy reference was made to the Sidder ul Suddar, whoſe office anſwers to that of our chief juſtice. There were no written laws except ſuch as are contained in

the Koran. Certain ufages, founded on general confent and immemorial cuftom, were alfo committed to writing.

In every diftrict or *pergunnah* there was a court of juftice eftablifhed, called a *cutchery*; thefe courts were extremely oppreffive, both on account of their legal conftitution and venal abufe, as one fourth part of the property litigated was claimed as the legal fees for bringing a caufe to iffue.

When the empire was in it's vigorous ftate, as often as the king took the field, the provincial nabobs with their troops were bound to repair to the imperial ftandard. Each Nabob erected his own ftandard, and formed a feparate camp, fubject to the imperial orders only. There are but few traces of real difcipline to be met with among thofe myriads with whom the emperors of Hindoftan often took the field. The forces of the great Sultan Baber alone were formed on a regular and mafterly plan. The difpofition of his battles was extremely judicious; and the fignal victories he obtained over immenfe armies, with a handful of men, are fufficient to convince us that military difcipline has not always been unknown in Afia.

"It may be matter of furprife to an European," fays Mr. Dow, "how eaftern armies of two or three hundred thoufand horfe, and triple that number of foldiers and followers, could be fupplied with provifion upon their march, and in their ftanding camps. To account for this," continues he, "it is to be obferved,

ſerved, that every provincial nabob, when he takes the field, appoints an officer called the *cutwal*, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſuperintend the bazars, or markets, which ſhall belong to his camp. Every commander of a body of troops obtains at the ſame time permiſſion to hoiſt a flag for a bazar, and to appoint a cutwal of his own, under the direction of the cutwal-general. Theſe cutwals grant licences to chapmen, ſutlers, and corn-dealers, who purchaſe the protection of the different flags by a ſtipulated tax. The pay of the ſoldiery in Hindoſtan is very great; this enables them to give high prices for proviſions, and the countries round run all hazards for ſuch a proſpect of advantage. The natural fertility of the country enables the inhabitants thus readily and plentifully to furniſh the armies. The Mahomedans, as well as the warlike nations of the Hindoos, are fond of the parade of cavalry, of which moſt of their armies are compoſed; but a great and ſtrange defect reigns in theſe armies: every ſoldier provides his own horſe; if his horſe is killed (as it is generally impoſſible for him to furniſh another) he is no longer a ſoldier; his livelihood depends upon his horſe more than on himſelf, and according to the value of that he receives his pay. It is aſtoniſhing that Mahomedan princes ſhould ever adopt this maxim; for, although a Mahomedan, from his faith in predeſtination, ought not to run away to ſave his own life, he will moſt likely avoid all danger to ſave his horſe; which occaſions mighty

and

and inſurmountable obſtacles to their ever conquering Europeans. *Mrs. Kinderſley's Letters, page* 203. —Experience has ſince ſhewn us, that this abſurd cuſtom has been laid aſide in the peninſula of India, by that diſtinguiſhed genius in the art of war, Heider Alli.

"Theſe numerous armies," ſays Mr. Cumbridge, "ſeldom keep the field any time without great loſs by famine; for a very conſiderable diminution is ſcarcely felt among ſuch multitudes, and is very little regarded from any ſentiments of humanity: a famine therefore is neither conſidered as any thing extraordinary, nor will the memory of it ever prevent the aſſembling another multitude, that muſt alſo be liable to the ſame chances of ſubſiſting or ſtarving. "Allowances muſt alſo be made for the great loſs they ſuſtain in men, beaſts, and all the implements of war. as often as they move in difficult roads, and particularly in their manner of paſſing over great rivers: for their rivers, in the rainy ſeaſon, become ſo rapid, that the landing-place is frequently a mile below the place of embarkation. In croſſing them they uſe large boats of a kind of baſket work, which they cover with ſkins. As there is always great plenty of hides in ſo numerous an army, they are eaſily made; and, though they are light and manageable, are capable of carrying a conſiderable number of horſe, and of tranſporting the heavieſt artillery.

The true cauſe of the ill ſucceſs of the Indian armies in an engagement, proceeds from their being unac-

unacquainted with the advantages of discipline, and their keeping their infantry upon too low a footing. Their cavalry, though not backward to engage with sabres, are extremely unwilling to bring their horses within the reach of our guns, for the reason observed above.

A much greater advantage Europeans possess over these Asiatics from their being tenacious of their ancient manners, than in their want of bravery; not only the prince, but every rajah, who has the command of all the forces he can bring into the field, always appears among them mounted on an elephant, and is at once the general and ensign of his men, who constantly keep their eyes on him; and if they lose sight of him for a moment, conclude that all is lost, and instantly disperse. This affords our engineers a fair opportunity of deciding the fate of a whole detachment by one well-directed discharge of a six-pounder; and those enormous beasts now seem brought into the field only to be a mark for our artillery. Those rajahs, sensible of being thus exposed, sometimes avail themselves of the only expedient that can afford them any security; for it has been observed, that several elephants, with the same caparisons, and with riders in the same rich and splendid habits, have appeared in different parts of the field on the same day.

Though they have severely suffered from being surprised in the night by Europeans, they can never be brought to establish in their camp either order

or

or vigilance; for at the close of the evening every man eats a great quantity of rice, and many take after it soporific drugs, so that about midnight the whole army is in a dead sleep; the consequence of which is obvious: and yet, says the above author, an eastern monarch would think it very strange, should any one endeavour to persuade him, that the security of his throne depended upon the regulation of the meals of a common soldier; much less would he be prevailed on to restrain him in the use of that opium which is to warm his blood for action, and animate his soul with heroism. The mind of an European soldier must be equally filled with compassion and contempt at seeing a heap of these unhappy creatures, animated by a momentary intoxication, crowded into a breach, and both in their garb and impotent fury resembling a mob of frantic women. In short, the very eastern dress has an appearance of effeminacy, and the Europeans are not inclined to be struck with much apprehension from seeing a body of horse in silk or cotton robes.

Revenues of the Mogul Empire.] The revenues of the Mogul arose from the produce of the ground, the customs of the sea-ports, the estates of the great men at their death, which devolved to the crown, the presents from his subjects, who never approached their prince or governor empty-handed, and the treasures produced by the diamond-mines. The viceroy, or governor, of every province which owned subjection to him, was obliged to supply the

crown

crown with a certain ſum, which he raiſed out of the manufactures and produce of the ſoil. This, added to the other revenues, is ſaid to have amounted annually to between forty and fifty millions ſterling, before Nadir Shah ravaged the empire.

The coins of this country are, the *pice*, or *caſh*, which is of copper, and about the value of a halfpenny; the *fanam*, a ſilver coin, worth three pence; the *rupee*, a ſilver coin, worth two ſhillings and three pence; the *gold moor*, or rupee, worth about fourteen ſilver rupees; and the *pagoda*, ſo called from its having the figure of a pagoda ſtamped upon it: the laſt, which is worth nine ſhillings, is flat on one ſide and convex on the other. Theſe are chiefly coined by the rajahs or petty princes.

Gold and ſilver coins are finer here than in any other country. Foreigners have their mints, and coin both gold and ſilver, particularly the Engliſh at Calcutta; and from the adulterations practiſed on the coinage there, individuals have amaſſed great wealth, to the diſgrace of the government, which connived, at leaſt, at ſuch a flagrant abuſe of office. Foreign coins are alſo current; but for trifling matters they ſometimes uſe bitter almonds, or ſea-ſhells called couries or blackmoor's teeth, ſixty of which are valued at about a halfpenny.

Large ſums are reckoned by *lacks*, *carors*, and *arabs*. A lack is one hundred thouſand rupees, or eleven thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds ſterling; a caror, or carore, is one hundred lacks, or

one

one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling; and an arab is ten carors, or eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

RELIGIONS in INDIA.—MAHOMEDANS.] Of the Mahomedan religion in India little need be said, as the rise, progress, and establishment of Mahomedanism is a subject treated of in the first volume of this work (chap. xx.), and will be again touched upon in the next chapter, when the Persians come to be spoken of; it is therefore sufficient to say here, that Mahomedanism was the only religion tolerated in the court of the emperor, and adhered to by his viceroys or nabobs, as well as by all those who were employed in the various departments of government. Nothing can be more opposite to each other than the religious tenets of the Tartarian conquerors of India and the subjugated Hindoos; and they have necessarily continued to this time distinct and separate classes of mankind, incapable of assimilating and blending into one common stock, by any lapse of time or any concurrence of accidental circumstances. The persecuting spirit and zeal to make converts, which marked the character of the Tartarian emperors to the close of Aurungzebe's reign, has since been unknown.

As the Indian Mahomedans are situated at such a distance from the venerated spot, to which all the devotional acts of Mussulmans in some measure tend, pilgrimages to Mecca are never practised by them; and as this means of keeping the devotional fervour

fervour in full energy is wanting, religious bigotry is much less prevalent here than among the Turks. The name of Mahomet is reverentially treated, but many of the injunctions of the Koran are not scrupulously adhered to; yet the accounts which are transmitted of these people are highly honourable, for they are said to carry their veneration of the Supreme Being so far, as not only never to mention the word Alla, or God, with the least irreverence, but they think it in a manner blasphemous to praise or define a Being whom they consider as so infinitely above all praise, definition, or comprehension. Thus they do not even approve of calling him good, righteous, merciful, thinking such epithets superfluous and impertinent; as if one was emphatically to say of a man that he had a head, or any other members necessary to the human form: for they conceive it a profanation of the name of God to associate it with human attributes or conceptions; and that nothing fills the idea due to that Being so well as the name itself, "a substantive singularity, and for ever, above the junction of an adjective." If this is superstition, it is the sublimity of it.

HINDOOS, or GENTOOS.] The first European who availed himself of the advantages which wealth and consequence in the country furnished, to obtain information concerning the religion, mythology, and philosophy of the Hindoos, and communicated to the public the result of his inquiries, was Mr. Holwell; he was followed by colonel Dow; but Mr. Hastings,

Haſtings, when governor-general of Bengal and Bahar, promoted with great zeal and effect inquiries into the literature, hiſtory, religion, cuſtoms, and laws of the Hindoos: under his patronage tranſlations have been made from the Sanſcrit language into the Perſian, of the moſt ancient and authentic writings preſerved among thoſe people, many of which have been tranſlated into Engliſh by Meſſrs. Gladwin, Halhead, and Wilkins; the firſt of theſe gentlemen has publiſhed the Ayeen Akbery of Abul Fazel, vizier of Akbar the Great, in three quarto volumes, which were printed at Calcutta in the years 1784, 5, and 6, and are replete with important information. This zealous patronage of oriental literature, embraced as its object not only ſpeculative ſcience, but the purpoſes of legiſlation and government. Eleven learned Brahmins, whoſe profeſſion was particularly that of pundits, or lawyers, were invited from different parts of the kingdom to Fort William, at Calcutta; the moſt authentic books, both ancient and modern, in the Sanſcrit language, were collected, and every thing which reſpected the laws of the Hindoos ſelected, ſentence by ſentence, which was literally tranſlated into the Perſian language. This verſion has been rendered into Engliſh by Mr. Halhed, and forms a digeſted, arranged, and methodized code of Gentoo laws. Not one of the pundits who compiled this code could, however, be prevailed upon to impart any information reſpecting the ſacred Sanſcrit language itſelf; but

Mr.

Mr. Halhed afterward became acquainted with a Brahmin who possessed a liberality of sentiment, which general knowledge, acquired by books and travel, having confirmed, rendered him superior to the narrow conduct of the rest of his tribe; he was prevailed upon to become an instructor in this mysterious language, and by such an assistance Mr. Halhed has been enabled to give an account of the religion of the Hindoos, in the preface to his translation of the code of their laws; in doing which he frequently overturns the principles laid down by Mr. Howell and colonel Dow. The latter of whom speaks of having been equally successful in obtaining, about twenty years before, from Benares, a pundit, who instructed him in that mysterious tongue, although the emperor Akbar, two centuries before, exerted all his influence in vain for that purpose. Kercher, however, in his China Illustrata, about the beginning of the present century, gave unquestionable proofs of his acquaintance with it.

The ancient and venerable city of Benares, has, from time immemorial, been the principal university of Braminical learning. Major Rennell supposes that toward the close of the twelfth century, when Mahomed Gori perpetrated the most shocking cruelties upon the Brahmins in that city, and committed every kind of outrage and violence upon the objects of their worship, that the Sanscrit had, until then, been the current language of Hindoostan, and from that period it began to decline

in its purity, by the admission of words from that of the conquerors, until the language of Hindoostan became what it now is; the original Sanscrit preserved in their antient writings becoming a dead language. *Memoir of a Map, Introd. page* xlvii. *3d edition.*

A remarkable and interesting circumstance in the traditional belief of the Hindoos is, the inconceivable antiquity of the world. In the extent of their belief of this fact they even exceed their neighbours the Chinese, and do not fall short of them in circumstantiality of relation. They reckon the existence of the world by four Jogues, or ages. The first they call "The Suttee Jogue," or age of purity; which they hold to have lasted 3,200,000 years; and that the life of man was, in that age, extended to 100,000 years, and that his stature was twenty-one cubits. The second they call "Tirtah Jogue," or the age in which one-third of mankind were reprobated. They suppose its duration to have reached 2,400,000 years, and that men then lived to the age of 10,000 years. The third they call "The Dwapaar Jogue," in which half of the human race became depraved; this period, they say, continued 1,600,000 years, and men's lives were reduced to 1000 years. The fourth, or "Collee Jogue," in which all mankind are corrupted, or, rather lessened (for such is the meaning of Collee), is the present æra, which they suppose ordained to exist for 400,000 years, of which near 5000 are already passed; man's life in this period is

limited to 100 years. *Halhed's Preface, page* xxxviii.
—To reconcile such wonderful extravagances with the sober scriptural relations of the origin of things, would be a solution devoutly to be wished, and therefore prompts to hazard the following conjectural explanation. Let us then consider the first age, or the Suttee Jogue, as an angelic state; and both the Jewish and Christian scriptures warrant a belief of such beings existing long before mankind was produced. We can only conceive of angels as of beings possessing intellectual faculties, not differing in their nature, but merely in their degree, from men; and the mental powers of men seem to have been so enlarged, in the notions of the Hindoos, during that period, that they may as well be called embodied angels as men. The second age, or Tirtah Jogue, bears no essential disagreement with the relation of the fall of angels, to which the Jewish and Christian oracles bear testimony. The third may be considered as a farther defection in the angelic host; and the fourth corresponds, very remarkably, with the Mosaic account of the duration of this globe.

The Hindoos know of no tradition respecting a general deluge.

The books which contain the religion and philosophy of the Hindoos, are distinguished by the name of Bedas, according to Mr. Holwell, and Beids of the Shaster, according to Mr. Halhed. These they assert were penned by the Divinity. They are four in number, written in Shanscrita, or Shanscrit, called by some Sanscrit, among whom is Mr. Rennell; this is a language confined to the Brahmins, which furnishes

them with such absolute control over the vulgar, that the Gentoos may be said to be most effectually priest-ridden of any nation upon earth.

"The most striking features in the character of the Hindoos," says a late writer, "are, their superstition, and veneration for the institutes and tenets of their forefathers. In India the dominion of religion extends to a thousand particulars, which, in other countries, are governed either by civil laws, or by taste, custom, or fashion. Dress, food, the common intercourses of life, marriages, professions, are all under the jurisdiction of religion: there is scarcely any thing that is not regulated by superstition, nor is there any thing so trifling and minute as to be held a matter of indifference. The original government of the Hindoos was in reality an hierarchy."

The Bedas are by the Brahmins held so sacred, that they permit no other sect to read them; and such is the influence of superstition and priestcraft over the minds of the other casts in India, that they would deem it an unpardonable sin to gratify their curiosity in that respect, were it even practicable. The Brahmins themselves are bound by such strong ties of religion to confine those writings to their own tribe, that were there any of them known to read them to others, he would be immediately excommunicated. See page 162.

The four Bedas contain one hundred thousand ashlogues, or stanzas, in verse, or, according to Mr. Halhed, in measured prose, each of which consists

of four lines. The first Beda is called Rug Beda, which signifies the science of divination, concerning which it principally treats. It also contains astrology, astronomy, natural philosophy, and a very particular account of the creation of matter, and the formation of the world. The second Beda is distinguished by the name of Sheham; that word signifies piety and devotion; and this book accordingly treats of all religious and moral duties. It also contains many hymns in praise of the Supreme Being, as well as verses in honour of subaltern intelligences.

The third is the Judger Beda, which, as the word implies, comprehends the whole science of religious rites and ceremonies; such as fasts, festivals, purifications, penances, pilgrimages, sacrifices, prayers and offerings. They gave the appellation of Obatar Bah to the fourth Beda; Obatar signifies, in the Shanscrita, the Being, or the Essence, and Bah, good; so that the Obatar Bah literally signifies the knowledge of the Good Being; and accordingly this book comprehends the whole science of theology and metaphysical philosophy. Ever since the promulgation of the religion of Mahomet, the Brahmins have totally rejected this fourth Beda, as the schism of Mahomet, according to them, has been founded upon that book. Colonel Dow, whom we have followed in this description, elsewhere accounts for the disuse of this fourth Beda, from the obsoleteness of the language in which it was penned. (Compare vol. I. preface, page 8, with Dissertation, page xxix.) The

ſame writer relates a legendary tale of the Brahmins, purporting, that an apoſtate Hindoo being baniſhed to the weſtward, propagated the Jewiſh faith, grounded on a ſchiſm from the Hindoo, which, ſay they, the impoſtor Mahomet further corrupted.

The Gentoos have, in all ages, believed in the tranſmigration of ſouls, which they denominate *Kāyāprĕwāēſh* and *Kāyāpĕlūt*. The latter literally anſwers to the word Metempſychoſis. An ancient Shaſter, called "The *Geeta*," written by Adhae Doom, has a beautiful ſtanza upon this ſyſtem of the tranſmigration, which he compares to a change of dreſs; the original of which follows, and will ſerve as a curious ſpecimen of the Shanſcrit language.

An Aſhlogue Cābee Chhund, or of eleven ſyllables in each line; on the Tranſmigration of Souls.

वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय

Wāsāmsēē jēērnānēē [illegible] wēēhāyē

नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि

Nĕwānēē grĕhnātēē nĕrō[illegible]ānēē,

तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णा

Tĕt, hā Sh[illegible]ānēē wēēhāyē jēērnān

न्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही

Enyānēē ſumyātēē nĕwānēē dăēhēē.

In

In English thus:

> W, throwing aside his old habits,
> A man puts on others that are new;
> So, our lives, quitting the old,
> Go to other new animals.
>
> *Halhed's Preface*, p. xlv.

Hence it is highly probable, that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, by which Pythagoras was so particularly distinguished, was derived from them, with many other articles and modes of worship and opinion, which, from certain resemblances, might be traced from the same source. Thus, among many other conjectural instances, may be quoted the *Paphian Venus*; for the form of which Tacitus could not account, it rising from a broad basis to a narrow point at the top, which is exactly the figure of the idol in India consecrated to such an office as that heathen deity was supposed to preside over, and to which, on the borders of the Ganges, the Gentoo virgins are brought to undergo a kind of superficial defloration, before they are delivered up to their husbands. Mr. Holwell confirms this sentiment; see his *Interesting Events in India*; and Raynal has adopted it.

The passage in Tacitus is as follows: "Dea non effigie humana, continuus orbis latione initio tenuum in ambitum metæ modo exungens, et ratio in obscuro." *Tacit. Hist. lib.* ii. 3.

This idol, which is worshipped by the Gentoos under the name of Jaggernaut, is represented by

captain Hamilton, was a pyramidal black ſtone, fabled to have fallen from heaven, or at leaſt to have miraculouſly appeared in the place where they have erected his temple. It appears that this ſtone is meant for the power preſiding over univerſal generation, which they attribute to the genial heat and influence of the ſun acting in ſubordination to it, and to whom is addreſſed the following prayer, which the Brahmins eſpecially often repeat in a day, with their eyes lifted up toward the ſun: "Thou, power, which illuminates that reſplendent orb, deign alſo to illuminate my mind, ſo as that I may thereby be directed to walk in the way which is moſt pleaſing to thee."

It is from the Bedas that the Indians derive their religious veneration for the three capital rivers of Hindoſtan, the Indus, the Criſtina, and the Ganges. Hence too the animal moſt ſerviceable in the cultivation of the ſoil, as well as the cow, whoſe milk is ſo wholeſome in hot countries, is conſecrated. Yet their tolerating ſpirit appears very conſpicuous in their behaviour to thoſe who differ from them in their treatment of cows, or of animals in general. They annex a general ſanctity to every thing produced by that animal; they purify themſelves with its urine, and burning the excrements into a greyiſh powder, ſprinkle it on their foreheads, breaſts, and bellies: alſo, when the dung is freſh made, they ſmear their houſes and pavements with it, as a kind of luſtration.

This

This principle of tenderneſs is, however, not confined to the horned ſpecies alone: their belief of the metempſychoſis makes them extend it to every living creature, none being of ſo low a claſs, or ſo minute, but they imagine it may be the receptacle of a human ſoul, and conſequently of their relations or friends. Hence that difference of ſize, which is apt to affect the eye with contempt or regard, and leſſens or augments compaſſion to an animal in the act of deſtroying it, has no ſuch effect upon them. They cannot without horror think of depriving any thing of that precious gift of God, life; and do not leſs reſpect it in the flea that bites them, than in the elephant. But this unbounded and inſupportable humanity is adhered to only by ſome of the Brahmins.

The Banyans not only forbear to kill any living creature, but erect hoſpitals for them, particularly within a mile of Surat, the cows, horſes, goats, and dogs that happen to be lame or enfeebled by age, are plentifully provided for; and they will purchaſe a lame ox of his Mahometan or Chriſtian owner, to prevent his being killed by his maſter. The Banyans alſo once a year prepare an entertainment for the flies, ſetting before them large diſhes of milk and ſugar; and at other times they take a bag of rice, and, walking out two or three miles, ſcatter the rice round the ant-hills.

Indeed the Banyans are ſo firmly perſuaded that departed

departed souls enter the bodies of animals, that they no sooner observe any of them frequent their houses, but they immediately conclude it is some of their deceased friends come to pay them a visit. Thus, it is said, that a person named Morradash, who was secretary to an English broker, being very melancholy on the death of his father, and seeing a snake enter his house, immediately concluded it was animated by his father's soul, and came thither for relief. This thought gave him no small comfort, and he resolved to pay the same duty to his father under this metamorphosis, as when he was alive; and therefore provided milk and rice for his new guest; who liked his entertainment so well, that he took up his dwelling in a corner of the room, and came out to eat, when his food was set him, as regularly as if he was one of the family. The same man made a provision for the rats in his house, having persuaded himself that they were his relations; upon which they grew as tame as any other domestic animal.

The Hindoos have ten principal images, which are the objects of their adoration, and represent such figures as, according to the Bedas, their god Mahadeu was at several times pleased to assume for the service of mankind.

They have seldom any public assemblies in their pagodas, but every one performs his devotions when he thinks fit, and to which of the images he pleases.

The

The greatest part of their worship seems to consist in singing, dancing, playing on musical instruments, and in making offerings of rice and other food.

Their Gioghies, which are a kind of wandering Brahmins, seem descended from the ancient Gymnosophists; but, like other human institutions, have been at length vitiated by abuses, which hypocrisy, and the grossest impositions have introduced. Their original regulations enjoined a renunciation of the world, an itinerant life, and that perfect nakedness whence they derived their Greek names. At present, when they occasionally travel into countries under the jurisdiction of the Christians or Mahometans, they dispense with this last precept; and, out of deference to the prevailing customs, wear a scanty rag that scarce covers the parts to which their own opinions annex no idea of shame.

" When we attentively examine," says Raynal, " the accounts given by travellers of the manners of the natives of India, we seem to wander among heaps of ruins, the remains of an immense fabric. The original form is lost, but enough is preserved to convince us of the magnificence and regularity of the plans. Amidst a variety of absurd superstitions, puerile and extravagant customs, strange ceremonies and prejudices, we may discover the traces of sublime morality, deep philosophy, and refined policy; but when we attempt to trace the religious and civil institutions to their origin, we find that it is lost in the maze of antiquity."

The

The natives of India are men of strong natural parts, and are now found to have been no small proficients in literature and science, as the translation of the Ayeen Akbery into English has incontestably evinced. They are said to have some of Aristotle's writings in the Arabian tongue, and some of the works of that celebrated physician Avicenna, as likewise some fragments of the Old Testament in the same language; but this is only to be understood of the Mahometan inhabitants, many of whom are descended from the Arabs. These have but few books, which are all in manuscript, for the art of printing has not been introduced amongst them. According to the Abbé Raynal, we may trace the origin of most sciences in the history of this country. Even before the age of Pythagoras, the Greeks travelled to India for instruction; the trade carried on by them with the oldest commercial nations, in exchange for their cloth, is a proof of their great progress in the arts of industry. *Hist. Politique, liv. i.*

In speaking of the religion and superstitions of the Hindoos, the little island of Elephanta, which lies between Bombay and the continent, deserves to be mentioned, as it is supposed to have been consecreted to religious acts in very remote antiquity.

It does not exceed three miles in compass, and consists almost of one entire hill, at the foot of which, on landing, appears above the shore, on the right hand, an elephant, coarsely cut in stone, of the natural size, which at a small distance may be taken for

a living

living elephant, from the stone being naturally of the colour of that animal. It stands on a platform of stone of the same colour. On the back of this elephant was placed a young one standing, that appears to have been of the same stone, but has been long broken off. No tradition is old enough to give account of the time when, or the use for which, this elephant was formed. There are not above two or three huts upon the island, as it has no spring of water, so that its few poor inhabitants can only be supplied with that necessary element from the heavens. A gradual ascent from the foot of the hill conducts to the entrance into an extensive cave, hewn out of the solid rock, forming what undoubtedly was, in inscrutable antiquity, a Gentoo temple; it is eighty or ninety feet long, and forty broad, but only ten feet high; it is supported toward the middle, at equal distances from the sides, by two regular rows of pillars, of the same substance with the rock; these are thirty-six in number. Each pillar is divided into three equal parts; the pedestal being one, the shaft another, and the capital, including the entablature, the third. The pedestals are square, the shafts rudely grooved, and not as usual cylindrical, but gradually widening in the centre, their greatest diameter being more than half their height; the capitals are grooved; the entablatures are simple, and without distinct divisions of members. These proportions and forms, so different

from

from Grecian rules, are not pleasing to a correct taste, but as they have in themselves the strictest uniformity of common principle, they undoubtedly prove the arts to be far advanced at the period of their construction. At the farther end of this temple are three gigantic figures, which were much maimed and defaced by the Portuguese, when they took possession of the island; their zeal to destroy the remains of ancient idolatry, led them, when they found the rock impenetrable to their tools, to bring cannon to discharge against them. Lieutenant Colonel Barry, who visited this cave since Mr. Grose, says, the central figure is an image of the quadruple-faced Brimha, the God of the Bedas. On the right side are likewise several images. On each side of this cave, to the right and left from the entrance, are openings which lead to smaller caves, and from them to the outer part of the mountain on which they stand. The outlet on the left hand is into an area of about twenty feet in length, and twelve broad; at the upper end of which is a covered colonade, which joins to an apartment of the most regular architecture, round the cornices of which are some paintings remarkable for the beauty and freshness of their colouring, although they must have been executed some thousand years ago.

Religion of the Parsees.] There seems to be two distinctions necessary to be made in the religion of the Parsees, or Gaures, who transplanted themselves

selves from Persia, when the Mahometans conquered that country: the first, the pure religion, as taught by Zoroaster; and the second and more modern one, disfigured by various adulterations, as it is at present practised among the Parsees of India and Persia.

Zoroaster flourished under the reign of Hystaspes, king of Persia, about five hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, (see the history of Persia which follows) and was profoundly versed in mathematics and natural philosophy, whence he probably derived those sublime notions in relation to fire, on which he founded the basis of his religion, and which his followers still retain.

It is however evident that he found an homage paid to that element already established in the country, since Pyræums, or conservatories of perennial fire were known to be there long before his time; but whether such worship of it was a religious act, or whatever it might be, it was accompanied by many idolatrous rites; and Zoroaster exerted himself to purge it of its gross errors, and reduce it to the two grand points on which he founded his religion; namely, the belief of one Supreme God, and of the sun, or element of fire, being his first minister, and also the symbol of his purity; from these principles the rest of his opinions flowed.

Some writers maintain that there were two Zoroasters; and that the last, arising six hundred years after the first, explained and new modelled his religion,

ligion, which he stripped of the errors and supersti-tious practices by which it had been disfigured.

Be that as it may, agreeably to the above doc-trine, the followers of Zoroaster are still so penetrated with the idea of the immensity and omnipresence of God, that they esteem it a proof of great narrow-ness of sentiment to erect temples to him, as con-veying the groveling idea of confining him who fills all space between four walls; hence they make use of that celebrated saying, that "There is no temple worthy of the majesty of God, except the whole universe, and the heart of an honest man." Of all their opinions, they esteem that most sacred, that God was the sole necessary self-existent Being from all eternity, and is the supreme author of all good. Hence they detest the schism of those Per-sians who admit the co-eternity of the two prin-ciples of good and evil, and all the absurdities of Manicheism.

They maintain, since many effects in nature, which at the first view appear to be evils, are justified as to the wisdom of their causes, by their ultimately issuing in a known superior good; therefore it is just we should believe that all the rest are so, though their ends, probably for very wise reasons, are concealed from us. Hence they allege, that it is the utmost rashness and impiety to infer absolute evil from some individuals occasionally appearing to suffer, from those primordial laws to which God has sub-jected all his works in general, without excepting man,

man, whose good has been as much consulted as was fitting it should be, of which God ought surely to be esteemed a competent judge. Hence they deny that omnipotence has introduced real evil into nature; and maintain, that no evil actually exists but what is imaginary, temporary, and bearing no proportion to real, infinite, and eternal goodness.

As to fire, they place its source in the sun, to which they pay a very high reverence, out of gratitude for the numerous benefits which flow from it; but they are so far from confounding the subordination of the servant with the majesty of the Creator, that they attribute no degree of sense to the sun, or fire, in any of its operations; but consider it as a purely passive, blind instrument, directed and governed by its Creator. They even give that luminary, all-glorious as it is, no more than the second rank among his works, reserving the first for that stupendous production of divine power, the mind of man.

They believe the immortality of the soul, and found the doctrine of rewards and punishments in the other life on the light of reason, which enables them to perceive the difference between right and wrong; or, to speak in their figurative style, the conflict between Oroozm the good principle, and Harryman the evil one; or between the flesh and the purer spirit. As to future punishments, they exclude material burning from forming any part of them, and esteem the element of fire too pure and too noble to be employed in the office of an execu-

 tioner.

tioner. They even pretend, that the fire of divine love will moderate the punishments inflicted by justice.

The modern Parsees represent the place of future suffering as a dark, dreary, disconsolate region, replete with horror, pain, and disgust; caverns abounding with serpents, water thick like melted pitch, and cold as snow. They do not, however, hold these punishments to be eternal, but imagine that the guilty sufferers will be at length delivered, and even placed in a state of bliss, but inferior to that of the good, from whom they will also be distinguished by a brand in their foreheads. In fine, they imagine that, both in degree and duration, these punishments will be proportioned to human frailty; but that rewards, like the Divine goodness, will be infinite and unbounded.

Such was the doctine of Zoroaster, as may still be collected, notwithstanding the adulterations it has undergone; for the religion of that great man was too simple to satisfy the gross conceptions of the vulgar, or to answer the lucrative views of the chief Magi, now known in India by the name of dustoors, or directors of their ritual. These have debased the religion of Zoroaster, by introducing into it their own reveries, and corrupting its original purity. His books have been long since lost, and the present work, called, *The Zendavastaw*, was written in the same old Persian language, by *Erdah Viraph*, one of the chief Magi, who pretended to compile it by memory.

mory from the ancient work, and of this a tranſlation was made into the modern Perſian, about two hundred and ſixty years ago, and entitled *Saad-irr*, or "The Hundred Gates." In this work, the original doctrines of the Zoroaſts are ſophiſticated by interpolations, and introducing ſuperſtitions that have greatly disfigured that religion. They ſtill keep *pyrgaria*, or conſervatories of fire, in which lamps are kept continually burning, being fed with oil by prieſts who conſtantly attend them; theſe lambent flames, they aſſert, have burnt, without having been ever extinguiſhed, for many centuries.

"Yet, notwithſtanding the ſuperſtitious follies ingrafted on the original ſtock of this religion, ſuch," continues our author, "has been the force of its ſap, as to prevent the fruit from being ſpoiled; for even at preſent the Parſees are remarkably diſtinguiſhed by their purity of morals and ſimplicity of conduct."

It is ſaid, that the greateſt honour theſe people think they can do to the remains of their deceaſed friends, is to expoſe them to be devoured by birds of prey; for theſe living tombs they eſteem preferable to any other kind of ſepulchre. About a mile from the city of Surat, they have a place to which they carry their dead; this is within a circular wall, open at the top, twelve feet high, and one hundred in circumference. The ground within is raiſed about four feet, and made ſloping, that all the moiſture may drain from the carcaſes into a ſink made

 for

for that purpose; nothing can exhibit a more shocking appearance than this burying ground, as it is called, where are seen a multitude of dead bodies, loathsome and discoloured; some green, some yellow, some with their eyes torn out by the vultures, and some with all the flesh of their cheeks pulled off; great holes eaten in different parts of their bodies, and carcases torn and mangled. The vultures, it is observed, will place themselves down the wind, in order to enjoy the smell of these carcases; and sometimes cram themselves with human flesh till they are scarce able to fly.

LAWS and CUSTOMS of the GENTOOS.] We have already observed, that Mr. Hastings, when governor-general of Bengal, was the noble patron of oriental literature. The eleven learned Brahmins whom he assembled began to form these Hastingian Institutes in May 1773, and completed them at the end of April 1775. It appears from this laborious research (during which twenty books of the highest authority and most respectable antiquity were consulted, and every light which they threw upon the subject collected and concentrated) that the Hindoos had written laws, but that these were scattered among their ancient writings, in an unconnected manner, among subjects of a different kind. The Code of Laws thus formed, which is called "Translation of a Pootee, or compilation of the ordinances of the Pundits," treats very copiously on lending and borrowing; of the distribution of inheritable property;

property; of juſtice; and of what reſpects the conduct and treatment of women; with a great variety of other matters, which reſpect the intereſts and connections of mankind in a ſtate of ſociety. The puniſhments for crimes chiefly conſiſt in fines; yet, in exact agreement with the Jewiſh laws, it is ſaid (page 233) "If a man deprives another of life, the magiſtrate ſhall deprive that perſon of life." If a Brahmin deprives any perſon of life, his life ſhall not be taken in return, but he ſhall be fined one hundred Aſhruſies (which is the moſt valuable gold coin). If a man has put out both the eyes of any perſon, the magiſtrate ſhall deprive that man of both his eyes, condemn him to perpetual impriſonment, and fine him 800 puns of cowries (each pun conſiſting of 80 cowries). But although in theſe laws Brahmins are exempted from capital puniſhment, yet they may be degraded, branded, impriſoned for life, or ſent into perpetual exile; but it is every where ordained that a Brahmin ſhall not be put to death on any account whatever. In chap. iii. ſect. 3, page 109, is the following paſſage: "If a Brahmin ſhould come with intent to murder another, and that perſon has no means of eſcaping, and cannot ſave his own life but by the death of the Brahmin, in that caſe, if he ſhould even kill the Brahmin, the magiſtrate ſhall not take a fine from him: alſo, if a cow ſhould attempt to kill any perſon, and there is no way of eſcaping, that perſon may kill the cow, for the preſervation of his own life, and in this caſe, he

 ſhall

ſhall not be amenable." It is well known, though not expreſſed in this body of laws, that among the Gentoos, criminals ſentenced to death are not to be ſtrangled, ſuffocated, or poiſoned, but to be cut off by the ſword, becauſe, without an effuſion of blood, malefactors are ſuppoſed to die with all their ſins about them; but ſhedding their blood is conſidered as expiating their crimes. The unjuſt puniſhment of Nundcomar, who was hanged on a gibbet in violation of the laws of his country, and even by an *ex poſt facto* Engliſh law, was aggravated by that circumſtance of horror, that he died without an effuſion of blood. Amongſt a people ſo gentle, mild, and compaſſionate, one would not expect to find ſo cruel a puniſhment decreed for beating or ill treating a magiſtrate who has been detected in committing a crime: it is decreed (p. 234) that the magiſtrate ſhall thruſt an iron ſpit through the offender, and roaſt him at the fire.—So high a ſenſe is entertained of the ſacredneſs of magiſtracy, even when the magiſtrate has committed a crime, that one of the moſt cruel deaths, which human ingenuity can invent, is incurred by inſulting it, and the offence is expreſsly compared to the greateſt act of human depravity which theſe people can conceive of, namely, the murdering of an hundred Brahmins! but a Brahmin thus offending is not to ſuffer death, but to be fined 100 Aſhrufies.

The laws reſpecting women being as curious as any in this curious collection of laws, we ſhall ſelect the following.

following. (P. 271.) "If a man by force commits adultery with a women of an equal or inferior caste, against her consent, the magistrate shall confiscate all his possessions, cut off his penis, castrate him, and cause him to be led round the city mounted upon an ass." If a man by cunning and deceit commits the act with a woman of an equal or inferior caste, the offender shall lose all his possessions, be branded in the forehead with the mark of the *pudendum muliebre*, and banished the kingdom. If, either by force or cunning, a man commits the act with a woman of a superior caste, the magistrate shall deprive him of life. (P. 279.) "If a woman of bad character (except the wife of a Brahmin) who has no master, of her own accord goes to a man for a criminal purpose, that man, after having given information to the magistrate, may have carnal knowledge of her, and is not liable to punishment." The twentieth chapter, which treats of what concerns women, concludes with defining what the law is respecting the wife's burning. (P. 286.) "It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse; every woman who thus burns herself shall remain in paradise with her husband three crore and fifty lacks of years, by destiny: if she cannot burn, she must, in that case, preserve an inviolable chastity: if she remains always chaste she goes to paradise; if she does not preserve her chastity, she goes to hell." See a particular account of several instances of the ceremony attending these self-

devoted victims, in *Payne's System of Geography, vol.* I, *page* 191, 192, *and* 193.

The ordeal trials of melted lead, or boiling oil, as practised here, are considered by the Gentoos as a standing miracle. The ceremony is performed with great solemnity. The party who has appealed to this trial for his innocence, whether on suspicion of murder, theft, conjugal infedelity in the women, or even in denying a debt, is publicly brought to the side of the fire, on which is a cauldron, or ladle-full of boiling water, or oil, but most commonly melted lead: the prince or magistrates of the country being present, his hand is previously clean washed, and a leaf of the brab-tree, with the accusation written upon it, is girt round his waist; and then on a solemn invocation of the Deity by a Brahmin, the person plunges in his hand, scoops up the boiling fluid, and if he draws it out unhurt is absolved, otherwise he receives the punishment prescribed by the laws for the crime against which the accusation lay; and so firm is the belief in this method of purgation on the coast of Malabar, that even some of the Indian Christians and Moors, fearless of pain, maiming, and disgrace, have voluntarily submitted their cause to that decision; but such, no doubt, had previously taken the proper measures to secure this miraculous confirmation of their innocence.

This method of discriminating between guilt and innocence, is mentioned in the third chapter of the Code of Gentoo laws, (which treats of justice) under the

the name of *Purrekeh*, and Mr. Halhed ſays, in his preface, p. lviii. that, "the modes of this ordeal are various in India, according to the choice of the parties, or the nature of the offence; but the infallibility of the reſult is, to this day, as implicitly believed as it could have been in the darkeſt ages of antiquity."

Singular as this practice is, the Gentoos do not appear to be the only people who retain it, for we are told that the Poglizans, a people inhabiting ſome of the iſlands and a part of the coaſt of Dalmatia, at this day make uſe of proofs by fire and boiling water, to diſcriminate between guilt and innocence, and the victims of this inſtitution are ſometimes ſeen diſabled and half roaſted. See *Abbé Fortis's Travels into Dalmatia*, p. 251.

TRIBES or CASTES of the GENTOOS, or HINDOOS.] Gentio is a Portugueſe word, meaning Gentile, by which general appellation all the natives of India were at firſt called, whether they were Mahomedans or Hindoos: but the Engliſh, and other nations, have adopted the term Gentoo, to diſtinguiſh the Hindoos, or followers of Brimha, from the Mahometans, or Muſſulmans, whom they commonly, though improperly, called Moors, or Moormen. *Bolts's Conſiderations on Indian Affairs.*

The Hindoos have from all antiquity been divided into four great tribes, each of which comprehends a variety of inferior caſts. Theſe tribes do not intermarry, eat, drink, or in any manner aſſociate with one another, except when they worſhip at the temple

ple of Jagganat (the being who is said to preside over the present period) in Orissa, where it is held a crime to make any distinction.

The first and most noble tribe are the Brahmins, who alone can officiate in the priesthood, like the Levites among the Jews. They are not, however, excluded from government, trade, or agriculture, though they are strictly prohibited from all menial offices by their laws. They derive their name from Brimha, whom they allegorically say produced the Brahmins from his head when he created the world. The second in order is the Chehteree tribe. They, according to their original institution, ought to be all military men; but they frequently follow other professions. Brimha is said to have produced the Chehteree from his heart, as an emblem of that courage which warriors should possess. The name of Beise, or Bice, is given to the third tribe. They are for the most part merchants, bankers, and cunias, or shopkeepers. These are figuratively said to have sprung from the belly of Brimha; the word Beissh signifying a provider or nourisher. The fourth tribe is that of Sooder. They ought to be menial servants, and they are incapable of raising themselves to any superior rank. These are said to have proceeded from the feet of Brimha, in allusion to their low degree. But indeed it is contrary to the inviolable laws of the Hindoos, that any person should rise from an inferior cast into an higher tribe. If any, therefore, should be excommunicated from any of the

the four tribes, he and his posterity are for ever shut out from the society of every cast in the nation. This severity prevents all intermixture of blood between the tribes, so that in their appearance, they seem rather four different nations, than members of the same community.

The Banyans, or, as they are styled, "Black Merchants," are in general the most honest, frank, and open dealers in the world; except where they have been corrupted by the Europeans. Those of Surat, notwithstanding European intercourse, are famous for the simplicity and frankness of their transactions. As an instance of this, on a ship's coming thither laden with goods, nothing more is necessary to be done than for the commander or supercargo to bring his musters or samples on shore, together with his invoice; and these merchants resorting to him, will, if the assortment suits them, immediately strike a bargain for the whole cargo, with no other trouble than settling the per centage upon the items of the invoice. "In this manner," says Mr. Grose, "many a cargo, from five to thirty thousand pounds, and upward, has been sold in half an hour's time, with very few words, and the amount immediately paid, either in ready money, or by barter, according as the buyer and seller have agreed, with as much probity as is ever practised by European merchants of the most established character."

The attachment of an Hindoo to the peculiar tenets of his religion as well as to his tribe, cannot

be more ſtrongly inſtanced than in the following anecdote, from *Mr. Verelſt's account of Bengal.*

"An Hindoo had been bribed to procure ſome papers belonging to a gentleman who died in the company's ſervice. The ſon caught him in the fact; and in revenge of his treachery, compelled him to ſwallow a ſpoonful of broth. Ridiculous as the puniſhment may ſeem, it was attended with very ſerious conſequences. No ſooner was his pollution known, than he was degraded from his caſt; loſt all the benefits of ſociety, and was avoided as a leper by his tribe." When a man is thus diſgraced, he is henceforward obliged to herd with the *Hallachores*, "who," ſays Mr. Scrafton, "can ſcarcely be called a tribe, being the refuſe of all tribes. Theſe are a ſet of poor unhappy wretches, deſtined to miſery from their birth. They perform all the vileſt offices in life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing that is polluted. They are held in ſuch abomination, that on the Malabar ſide of India, if one of theſe chances to touch a man of a ſuperior tribe, he draws his ſabre and cuts him down on the ſpot, without any check from his own conſcience, or from the laws of the country." In this miſerable ſituation was the above poor Hindoo, when lord Clive prevailed on the Brahmins to aſſemble, and conſult if there could not be a remiſſion of an involuntary deviation from their law: after much deliberation, the Brahmins affected a compliance, but the man was never reſtored to his tribe. According to Mr. Halhed,

a man

a man born of a mixed caſt is called a *Burrun-Sunker*. *Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. 42.

The Mahometan governors often take advantage of this principle, when they want to extort money; and ſo highly do the Hindoos value their religious purity, that after they have borne the ſevereſt corporeal puniſhment, rather than diſcover their wealth, a threat of defilement will effect what torture has attempted in vain. *Verelſt's Preſent State of Bengal*, p. 142.

As the Hindoos wholly abſtain from animal food, the ſimplicity of their lives appears ſtrictly correſpondent with that of their diet; for this regimen, an ingenious traveller obſerves, ſeems to have an influence on their minds as well as on their bodies, they being generally free from the more violent paſſions and from reſtleſs purſuits, except what an eager avarice excites; thoſe of them at leaſt who enter into temporal affairs, may vie with any other condition of men in their love of gain. Their conſtitutions are generally healthy, though they are not ſtrong bodied. Their ſenſes of ſmell and taſte are exquiſite, which they doubtleſs owe to their abſtinence from fleſh: thus to them flowers produce a much ſtronger odour than the ſame ſort would to Europeans; and they are as nice in the taſte of different waters as the latter are in that of wines, and make as great a point of luxury in the choice of them. It is alſo obſervable, that wounds are much ſooner and much eaſier cured, when the patient is uſed

uſed only to a vegetable diet, than when he feeds upon fleſh, the body being free from thoſe groſs humours which fleſh-diet creates. That love of indolence and inaction which generally prevails among the Gentoos, cauſes them proverbially to quote this paſſage from the writings of one of their authors: "It is better to ſit ſtill than to walk; better to ſleep than to wake; but death is beſt of all."

The Hindoos diſcover a wonderful inſenſibility to the diſtreſſes and dangers of their fellow creatures. An Engliſh gentleman was ſtanding by one of them, when an enormouſly large and fierce tyger ſprang from a thicket, and carried off a child, the ſon of one of his neighbours, who uttered the moſt piercing cries; the Engliſhman expreſſed the utmoſt concern and horror at the event, while the Hindoo remained unmoved. "What!" exclaimed the former, "are you unaffected by ſo dreadful a ſcene?" "The great God," replied the other, "would have it ſo." Although the Hindoos are naturally the moſt inoffenſive of all mortals, yet does their humanity conſiſt more in abſtaining from injuries than in the performance of beneficent actions.

From the difference of caſtes, (a Portugueſe word, importing a claſs or tribe) of the Hindoos in Hindoſtan, there ariſes a difference of education; but even the inferior claſſes are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. The youth are taught, not within doors, but in the open air; and it is a ſpectacle no leſs pleaſing than ſingular, to ſee, in every village,

village, a venerable old man, reclined on a terraced plain, teaching a number of surrounding boys, who regard him with the utmost reverence and attention. In those simple seminaries, the gentle Hindoos are not only prepared for the businesses, but instructed in the duties of life: consisting in a profound veneration for the object or objects of religious worship, reverence of their parents, respect for their seniors, justice and humanity toward all men, but a particular affection for those of their own caste. *Mackintosh's Travels*, I. 323.

The Gentoo merchants also use the same method with their children, initiating them with the first dawn of reason into all the mysteries of trade; so that it is not uncommon to see boys of ten or twelve years of age so acute and expert, that it would be difficult to over-reach them in a bargain; and, indeed, their docility, sedateness, and the awful respect they pay their parents, are surprising, considering the extreme fondness of those parents; but they have the good sense to temper it so judiciously as not to spoil their children.

" In the east," says colonel Dow, " there are no public places of resort, no communication of sentiments, no introduction to private friendships. A sullenness, a love of retirement prevail, which disunite mankind; and, as all associations among men are prevented, the hands of government are strengthened by the very virtue of temperance."

The

The Hindoos, or Gentoos, greatly exceed the Mahomedans in number. They are a mild, humane, obedient, and induſtrious race of men. Temperate in their living, and delicate in their conſtitutions, their paſſions are calm; and they have no object but that of living with comfort and eaſe. Tame and ſubmiſſive, from the coldneſs of a vegetable diet, they have a natural abhorrence to blood. Thoſe countries governed by native princes, which lie beyond the devaſtations of the Mahomedans, are rich and cultivated to the higheſt degree. *Dow's Introductory Pref. to his Hiſt. of Hindoſtan.*

This diſtinction of the Gentoos into caſts or tribes, forms a remarkable peculiarity in their religion and government, and has both its conveniencies and inconveniencies. Thus great injuſtice is frequently done to genius and talents, to which they pay no regard, nor make any allowance for that infinite diverſity produced by nature. Thus ſome are confined to make an inſignificant figure in one ſphere, who might ſhine in another.

As moſt of theſe tribes have a chief, who is in ſome meaſure accountable for the conduct of the individuals of which his tribe is compoſed, this regulation gratifies the views of government: the individuals, on any neceſſary occaſion, being either numbered or aſſembled with eaſe and expedition.

Among the *naires*, or nobles, principally prevails the ſtrange cuſtom of one wife being common to a number; in which the great power of cuſtom is ſeen,

ſeen, in its never producing any jealouſies or quarrels among thoſe who poſſeſs the ſame woman. Beſide, the number of theſe huſbands is not ſo much limited by any ſpecific law, as by a kind of tacit convention, by which it ſeldom happens that it exceeds ſix or ſeven. The woman is, however, under no obligation to admit more than a ſingle attachment, though ſhe is not the leſs reſpected for uſing her privilege in its utmoſt extent; and they are ſometimes ſaid to have twelve huſbands; but they, as well as ſhe, muſt be all of the ſame tribe.

When the daughter of a nair is married to the firſt of her huſbands, he builds her a houſe, in which he alone cohabits with her, till ſhe takes a ſecond. The huſbands all agree, and cohabit with her by turns, according to their priority of marriage, each eight or ten days, or as they can fix the term among themſelves; and he who lives with her, during that time provides for her ſupport. When the man who cohabits with her goes into her houſe, he leaves his arms at the door, and none dare remove them, or enter the houſe, on pain of death; but if there are no arms to guard the door, any of them may freely viſit her. During the time of cohabitation, ſhe ſerves her huſband as purveyor and cook; ſhe alſo takes care to keep his clothes and arms clean. When ſhe proves with child, ſhe nominates its father, who takes care of its education, after ſhe has ſuckled it, and taught it to walk and ſpeak; but from the impoſſibility of aſſigning the true heir, the eſtates of

 the

the husbands descend to their sister's children, and if there are no such heirs, then to the nearest in blood, to the grandmother.

The MAHRATTAS, or MARATTAHS.

These people are chiefly composed of *Rajaputs*, or that tribe of Hindoo or Gentoo Indians whose chief business is war; yet they are represented by colonel Dow, as retaining the mildness of the other casts of Gentoos in their internal government. These are called by Mr. Halhed, "the Chehtere tribe;" so perplexingly various are the proper names for the same thing, which are given by different writers upon the affairs of this country!

When their armies carry destruction and death into the territories of Mahometans, all is quiet, happy, and regular at home. No robbery is to be dreaded, no imposition or obstruction from the officers of government, no protection necessary but the shade. To be a stranger is sufficient security. Provisions are furnished by hospitality; and when a peasant is asked for water, he runs with great alacrity and fetches milk.

The common people are equally bred to agriculture and arms; but the pay of those in actual service is extremely small, and not furnished in money, but in rice, tobacco, salt, pieces of cloth, and in the other necessaries of life. They have extended their dominions by the sword, and, as they encourage Europeans to desert to them, have learned the art of

of war, and can form regular sieges, but are best fitted for sudden excursions.

Their horses, on which they principally rely, are small, but hardy, and sure-footed. Many of the men have musquets; but they are very indifferent ones, and most of them match-locks: but their chief dependance is on their swords and targets; the former are of an admirable temper; and the men, who are well trained in the exercise of them, look with great contempt on those brought by the ships from Europe. Their targets are perfectly round, and rise in the middle almost to a point; they are hard, smooth, light, and well varnished; they will therefore easily turn a pistol ball, and at some distance the ball of a musquet. They have likewise among them excellent archers and slingers.

Their food is extremely portable, being only a little rice, and water, in a leathern flask; so that every soldier carries his own allowance; the officers themselves have no better diet, especially during their expeditions, which are conducted with great address and amazing rapidity.

The ancient seat of the Mahratta government was at Sattarah, situated near the eastern foot of the Gaunts, or Ghaunts; the most distant source of the river Kistnah rises in its neighbourhood: but the capital has since been transferred to Poonah.

These people, from time immemorial, have had settlements to the north of Delhi, great part of which they still possess, though such numbers were driven thence by Aurengzebe, that he employed above

twenty years to reduce them in their new settlements in the mountainous parts of the Deccan. Ever since they have carried on continual wars with the Moguls, subahs, and nabobs, and have made innumerable treaties of peace, which they only observed while it suited their interest.

The derivation of the name Mahratta (or Morattoe) has been the subject of much conjecture; Ferishta, in his history of Hindostan, says, that Marhat was the name of a province in the Deccan, and that it comprehended Bagland (or Bogilana) and other districts, which at present forms the most central part of the Mahrattas' dominions. The same thing is asserted in the history of the Deccan, which is translated by captain Scott, and just published.

The following account is chiefly drawn from major Rennell's Introduction.

Savagee may be considered as the founder of the Mahratta empire. It is generally supposed, that his grandfather was the illegitimate son of a Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rajpoot (Rajaput) princes. He took the name of Bonsola; which was that of the tribe to which his mother belonged. After the death of his father, he became so much disgusted at the indignities offered to him by his brothers, on account of his birth, that he quitted his own country and repaired to the Deccan, where he entered into the service of the king of Bejapour, or Visiapour, under whom he soon attained to a distinguished military rank, and in which his son succeeded; but his grandson Sevagee, who was born in 1628, disdaining the condition of a subject, raised himself

himself to independence. So rapid were his conquests, that he was become formidable to the armies of the Mogul empire, before Aurengzebe's accession to power, having possessed himself of the principal part of the mountainous province of Baglana, and the low country of Conean, situated between it and the western sea; he had also acquired from the kingdom of Visiapour the important fortress of Pannela, which commanded an entrance into the heart of it from the side of Baglana; together with several other places of strength in the Carnatic; he had possession of Gingee, together with an extensive district round it. He also plundered Surat, and Golconda, and even attacked Goa, when the power of the Portuguese was at its height.

His son Sambajee, though possessed of considerable abilities, both as a statesman and general, fell a sacrifice to debauchery: in one of his loose excursions, he was treacherously seized on, and cruelly put to death by Aurungzebe in 1689. This however produced no submission on the part of the Mahrattas, who still increased in power, though not so rapidly as before.

Sahoo, or Sahoojee, vulgarly Saow, or Sow Rajah, succeeded his father Sambajee at a very early age. He reigned more than fifty years; in which time the Mahratta power grew up to a wonderful height. The disputes concerning the succession among Aurengzebe's sons were very favourable to this growth. About the year 1736, the Mahrattas took part in the dispute between the nabobs

of Arcot, in the Carnatic, within which diſtrict the principal European ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel are ſituated; which diſputes eventually engaged the French and Engliſh Eaſt-India companies in ſcenes of hoſtility for ſeveral years. During this reign likewiſe, a tribute was demanded and obtained from Mahomed Shah, and the fine province of Malwa was wreſted from him: the tribute which was procured conſiſted in a grant of the fourth part of the net revenues of the other provinces in general; which proportion is expreſſed in the language of Hindooſtan by "a chout;" and all future demands of the Mahrattas were therefore denominated chouts.

About the year 1738, the Rohillas, a tribe from the mountains which lie between India and Perſia, erected an independent ſtate on the eaſt of the Ganges; and within eighty miles of Delhi.

Sahoojee died in 1740, when the Mahratta ſtate was poſſeſſed of all the country from the weſtern ſea to Oriſſa, and from Agra to the Carnatic; whilſt almoſt all the reſt of Hindooſtan, Bengal excepted, had been overrun and plundered. He was ſucceeded by Ram Rajah, a weak prince, who was ſuperſeded by his two chief officers, the Paiſhwah, or miniſter, and the Bukſhi, or commander in chief. The one named Bajirow, the other Ragojee. The former poſſeſſed himſelf of the weſtern provinces, the latter of the eaſtern. Poonah continued to be the ſeat of the weſtern government, and Nagpour in Berah became the capital of the eaſtern. Bajirow con-

fined

fined his master Ram Rajah to the fortress of Sittarah, and governed the provinces in his name. In a few years that absolute government which had prevailed among the Mahrattas was entirely done away, and something like a kind of feudal government succeeded. The two chiefs who had usurped the power, maintained an amicable alliance for the purpose of promoting their separate interests more effectually. The Berah chief was less powerful than the western prince; therefore, in order to strengthen himself, he formed a close alliance with the Nizam Ally, or the Soubah of the Deccan, a younger son of the famous Nizam-al-Muluck, spoken of page 170. The territories of this prince comprise the province of Golconda.

In the year 1742, both the Mahratta states confederated to invade Bengal, and the force which each employed was computed to amount to 80,000 horsemen. Moorshedabad, the capital, situated on the westernmost branch of the Ganges, which is navigable only during a part of the year, and is twelve miles from the collected waters of that river, was attacked by these invaders, and ably defended by Aliverdy Cawn, who, four years before, had thrown off all dependence on the Delhian emperor, and assumed the sovereignty of the province. The capital escaped the fury of the plunderers, but the open country, which, from its level nature, lay defenceless, was exposed to every outrage, and the inhabitants were treated with the most wanton

cruelty. These depredations continued for the ſpace of two years, for ſo long the Mahrattas kept poſſeſſion of the country, and on leaving it, they eſtabliſhed a chout, which, however, was never regularly paid.

The Berah Mahrattas, ſome years afterward, obtained poſſeſſion of the Oriſſa province, which being ſeparated from Bengal only by a ſmall river, enabled them to commit devaſtations on the confines; but in the year 1761, Coſſim Ally, then the nabob of Bengal, ceded the provinces of Budwan and Midnapour to the Engliſh.

Whilſt theſe tranſactions took place to the eaſtward, Bajirow, the weſtern uſurper, wreſted from the Portugueſe the fortreſs of Baſeen, and the little iſland of Salſette contiguous to it, to the northward of Bombay, leaving them only their ſettlement of Goa. He died in 1759, and left the paiſwahſhip to his ſon Ballajee, who was conſidered as having acquired an hereditary claim to it.

About this time a deſign had been formed by the Mahrattas, entirely to ſubdue the Mahomedan power, and to reſtore the Hindoo government throughout the empire. They were ſtimulated to this attempt by the confuſions and revolutions which had reduced it to the enfeebled condition in which it then was. In this deſign they were joined by the Jats, a tribe of Hindoos, who, ſome time after the death of Aurungzebe, erected an independent ſtate in the provinces of Agra and Delhi. To oppoſe this confederacy,

deracy, and render its designs abortive. Abdalla made his sixth expedition into India; he was joined by Sujah Dowlah, the Rohillas, and some inferior Mahomedan chiefs. A battle ensued, in the old scene of warfare, the plains of Carnawl and Pannipitt. 150,000 Mahomedans are said to have engaged 200,000 Hindoos. Before the battle was joined, the Jats deserted their allies, which tended very much to turn the fortune of the day. This was the most obstinate and bloody fight which the records of Hindoostan furnish an account of: it was fought in the year 1761, and the victory which Abdalla obtained that day was most signal and decisive. Of the vanquished, vast numbers were slain as well as made prisoners. The conflict was maintained with great valour on both sides. The best generals among the Mahrattas perished, and the flower of their army. Bellajee survived this decisive defeat but a short time; he was succeeded by his son Maderow.

The Mahrattas, ever restless and prone to hostile operations, being no longer capable of conflicting with the Mahomedans, found occasion to wage war with their neighbour the Nizam, and gradually wrested from him a considerable part of his territory to the N. and W. of Aurungabad.

Maderow died in 1772, and was succeeded by his son Narain Row, who was murdered the following year by Ragobah, his uncle, a son of Bajirow, the first paishwah who assumed the sovereignty; but this

atrocious

atrocious act rendered him extremely odious, and the widow of Narian bringing forth a posthumous son, entirely excluded the murderer from the probability of obtaining the paishwahship, at which he aimed, and to obtain which he had embrued his hands in his nephew's blood.

Ragobah had been a general in the war against Hyder Ally and the Nizam, where he had acquired considerable reputation; but now, finding his ambitious designs frustrated, he made overtures to the presidency at Bombay, to form an alliance with the English, and the advantages which he held out were so alluring, that the depravity of the man did not impede the acceptance of his offer. The first fruit of this treaty was the acquisition of the island of Salsette to the English; a spot of prodigious value to the Bombay settlement.

About this time the council-general of Bengal was invested with a controling power over the other settlements in India; and the Mahratta war being disapproved, colonel Upton was sent to Poonah, in 1776, to negociate a peace; since known by the name of "the treaty of Pooroondar," by which Ragobah was to renounce his pretensions and receive a pension for life, whilst the English were to retain possession of Salsette: but the tranquillity thus restored was of very short duration; for toward the end of the following year, the Bombay company again espoused the cause of Ragobah, but were obliged to enter into a disgraceful convention, and to

to give up their asylumed murderer to his enemies, who being of Brahmin race, was not punished with death. Another war has since followed, founded upon the most frivolous and disgraceful pretexts; by it the English acquired much, but were obliged to relinquish all their new conquests, on account of the heavy expence attending the war, and another breaking out with Hyder Ally in 1780.

Hyder Ally, and Tippoo Sultan.

During the last thirty or forty years a very remarkable revolution has taken place in the peninsula of India, which has been effected by the extraordinary talents, and no less singular good fortune, of Hyder Ally, a Mahomedan general, who, according to the French historian of his life, was the son of a general of 10,000 horse in the army of the empire, and not sprung from the mean origin which has been represented. From his youth he was trained to arms; and, having a genius equally penetrating in the science of war and of government, in the year 1751, when no more than twenty-three years of age, he rendered the most essential services to the king of Mysore, by new modelling his army, and introducing European discipline and arms. In the year 1756, on the death of his elder brother, he became prince of a fertile territory, and possessed of an army of 18,000 men, 200 of which were Europeans, and 3000 of them excellent cavalry. The dissensions which

which prevailed among the petty princes of the country, served both to excite and gratify his ambitious views; and he rapidly extended his dominions, until, as the same author asserts, he became possessed of an empire which comprehended more than half the peninsula: or, according to major Rennell, "a state, in extent equal to Great Britain, and producing a gross revenue of four millions sterling!" The extent of sea-coast which he subdued, except such places as were held by Europeans, reached from a little to the southward of Goa, to somewhat northward of Angenga.

The Mahrattas inhabiting the Deccan viewed with a jealous eye the rise of such a formidable power; but the conqueror had the good policy so far to disarm their fears of him, that, considering the English as still more dangerous neighbours, they assisted him to drive them from the Carnatic, in which he had well-nigh proved successful; more from that discord which prevailed in the government there, and the injudicious and feeble measures which were taken to oppose the invader, than from any superior advantage which his vast armies afforded him.

In the year 1779, the whole Bombay army was brought into so distressing a situation as to be compelled to capitulate. In the autumn of 1780, Hyder penetrated into the Carnatic, with an army composed of horse and foot, which together amounted to 100,000. These were superior in discipline, and

every kind of military training, to any native troops which had ever before taken the field in India. With this force he cut to pieces colonel Bailey's detachment, composing the flower of the Madras army; after which success he seemed on the point of subverting the British power in the Carnatic; but the exertions of the governor-general (Mr. Hastings) in collecting a force, and the abilities of Sir Eyre Coote in directing its operations, effectually put a stop to the progress of this formidable invader, who, toward the close of 1782, made very sincere overtures for peace, but did not live to conclude one.

Hyder Ally, or, as he is called by the writer of his life, Ayder Aly Khan, died in December 1782, or the beginning of the 1197th of the Hegira; about five months after which his great opponent Sir Eyre Coote deceased. His son Tippoo Saib, since styled Tippoo Sultan, then became possessor of his power, as he had before been inheritor of his abilities. He possessed a deeply rooted enmity to the English, which the intrigues of the French, his good friends and allies, tended to foment and strengthen.

Strongly stimulated by such a disposition, he continued to maintain the war; and in April 1783, surprised and overpowered a detachment commanded by general Matthews, which had been sent to make a diversion on his territories to the westward, with a view to weaken his force in the Carnatic; but this contest, alike wasteful of treasure, territory, and lives,

lives, was terminated by a peace, which was signed at Mangalore, in March 1784.

Never was a peace concluded in which the parties were less actuated by pacific dispositions: it removed no former grounds of jealousy; appeased no animosities; created no bond of union, by reconciling jarring interests: but as the exhausted state of the contending parties, and the indecisive events of the war, rendered a cessation from hostilities alike desirable to each, so they taught the necessity of effectually destroying all rivalship for power and territory by a future conflict, in which the victorious should give law to the vanquished. With these political sentiments each party entertained the most flattering hopes of finally triumphing over its competitor.

The English government in India had become solid and organized; the spirit of peculation had been greatly repressed; the several departments were ably filled, which procured confidence and respect from the neighbouring country powers: Great Britain, at length disengaged from the ruinous war with America, turned its views to India, as to the country whence a revenue was to be drawn which should relieve the exigencies of the state, overwhelmed with an enormous debt and accumulating taxes. This could only be effected by assisting the government in India against all rival powers.

Nor were the expectations of Tippoo less san-

guine. Trained in the ſcience of eaſtern government, by his able father, from his earlieſt years, he was equally qualified to govern in peace, and to preſide in war; his deſpotic power was exercised over his ſubjects with ſuch mildneſs, and his attention to their proſperity and happineſs was ſo unremitted, that the Myſore country became the moſt populous and highly cultivated part of India; whoſe ſovereign was ſerved, and his orders obeyed with ſuch fidelity and attention, as excited admiration even in his enemies. Whilſt proſperity thus encompaſſed him around, ambition took the entire poſſeſſion of his breaſt. Soon after his father's death, he aſſumed the title of Sultan, and began to ſtrengthen his intereſt, by diſcovering an ardent zeal for the ſupport and ſtrength of the true faith. His great ſeal was inſcribed with a text from the Koran, chap. 44. "I am the meſſenger (or ſultan) of the true faith." Round the edge of the ſeal was expreſſed, in Arabic characters, "From conqueſt, and the protection of the royal Hyder, comes my title of Sultan; and the world, as under the ſun and moon, is under my ſignet." In December, 1786, he publiſhed an addreſs to Muſſulmans in general, the purport of which was to declare his intention to wage perpetual war with all thoſe who did not embrace the true faith; and to invite all Muſſulmans into his dominions, by the promiſe of protection and employment; with ſupport if needful. To compaſs his ambitious deſigns he amaſſed

amaſſed very great treaſures: he had an army, according to major Dirom, *(page 249 of his Narrative)* of 18,000 cavalry, 50,000 regular infantry, and twice that number of irregular infantry, employed to garriſon his forts, and for the collection of his revenue. His ſupplies of military ſtores were prodigious. Tippoo was the firſt Mahometan prince ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Mogul empire, who openly diſclaimed the authority of the king of Delhi, or Great Mogul, and who impreſſed coin with only his own titles. Even the government of Bengal ſtill preſerve that external mark of reſpect to the fallen repreſentative of the houſe of Timur. *Major Dirom's Narrative, page* 250. Still, however, his expectations were not bounded by his own potentiality: he ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the court of France (the firſt from an eaſtern prince to an European monarch), for the purpoſe of forming an alliance with a power then conſidered as capable of rendering eſſential ſupport. The expectation was rational, although the dependence proved futile, from events impervious to human foreſight and ſagacity. From this ſtatement of Tippoo's conduct, the Engliſh have charged him with having formed a deſign of ſubduing the whole continent of India, and of founding an empire greater in extent and power than that of the Mogul at its moſt ſplendid period.

Such was the political ſtate of the peninſula of India, during the ſix years of peace which ſucceeded.

The

The firſt open breach of the peace was on the part of Tippoo, who, in May 1790, attacked the troops of the Rajah of Travancore, an ally of, or rather a dependent on, the Madras government; in whoſe territory the Dutch held a diſtrict, with the port of Cochin, and the fort of Cranganore, the latter of which they had ſold to the Rajah, whilſt the right to that fort was claimed by Tippoo, who forcibly poſſeſſed himſelf of it. This was the ſignal for war. Earl Cornwallis, governor-general of Bengal and the council, immediately diſpatched captain John Kennaway to the Nizam or Subadah of the Deccan, to conclude with him a treaty of offenſive and defenſive alliance; and Mr. Charles Warre Malet to the weſtern Mahratta ſtate for the like purpoſe. Theſe treaties were ſpeedily ſettled and ratified, the firſt on the 29th of July, the latter on the 5th of the ſame month. (The particulars of which may be ſeen in *Moor's Narrative, pages* 441—454.) By theſe treaties it was ſtipulated that a brigade of Britiſh troops ſhould accompany, and act with, each army.

The main Carnatic army was immediately put in motion, and vaſt preparations made to carry on a moſt eventful war. This army was put under the command of general Medows; it muſtered 14,000 men, and marched from Trichinopoli toward the Coimbettore country, which they entered the latter end of July. The plan of operations was, to enter Myſore to the ſouthward, and to attack Tippoo in his capital of Seringapatam; to co-operate in which

a body of troops was ſent from Bombay, under the command of general Abercromby. A force under colonel Kelly was deſtined to protect the Carnatic from invaſion: the armies of the Poonah Mahrattas and the Nizam were to enter the Myſore country to the northward, and thus by advancing on all ſides to fix the ſeat of war in the heart of Tippoo's dominions; at the ſame time that effectual relief and ſecurity were given to the rajah of Travancore, whoſe country lay on the weſtern coaſt of the peninſula of India, from Cape Comorin to about ten degrees twenty minutes north. The ſeaſon for action was employed in reducing Tippoo's rich ſouthern provinces below the Ghaunts, by the main army; whilſt his weſtern poſſeſſions along that chain of mountains, as far as the Biliapatam river to the north, were reduced by the Bombay army. The country allies to the northward effected nothing. This inactivity, together with a great want of proviſions in the Britiſh armies, prevented any thing more deciſive being effected. Toward the end of the year 1790, the operations of the campaign cloſed. The main army returned to Trichinopoli, and was afterward ordered to Madras: general Abercromby led his forces back to Bombay.

Earl Cornwallis, the governor-general, left Bengal the beginning of December, and took upon him the command of the main army at Vellout, eighteen miles diſtant from Madras, on the 29th of January 1791, when general Medows became ſecond

in

in command. He penetrated into Myſore by the eaſtward, having deceived Tippoo, who oppoſed him with the grand army, by a feint, and taking an unexpected route, he ſat down before the important fortreſs of Bangalore on the 5th of March, and although Tippoo's army appeared within ten miles of the place, no relief could be given to the beſieged, nor any effectual means uſed to impede the operations of the beſiegers. This valuable fortreſs was taken by ſtorm on the 21ſt. The next month a part of the Nizam's army joined the Britiſh, and ſoon after colonel Oldham with 700 European ſoldiers, and a ſupply of proviſions. The deciſive ſtroke was now to be given to the war by the attack of Seringapatam, to cover which Tippoo had intrenched his army. On the 15th of May his camp was attacked, and he was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs, but in good order. No beneficial conſequences, however, accrued to the Engliſh from this important ſucceſs, as the junction with the Bombay army, under general Abercromby, could not be effected on account of the ſwell of the river, which obliged that general to lead back his troops to Bombay, in a very exhauſted and debilitated ſtate: the want of ſtrong and able draught cattle, 40,000 having been loſt during the campaign (*Major Dirom*, *p.* 17), and a great ſcarcity of proviſions prevailed, whilſt no intelligence had been received of the Poonah or weſtern army; the commander in chief was therefore driven to the neceſſity of deſtroying his heavy artillery, and retiring to Bangalore. His progreſs thither was ſlow and [illegible]; but on the

second day after this retrograde motion commenced, the appearance of the advanced guard of the Mahratta army, at first created an alarm, by supposing it to be the approach of an enemy, until these apprehensions were removed; when it appeared that all intelligence of the movements of this army, sent from time to time, had been intercepted and cut off by the emissaries of the sultan.

As provisions were abundant in this army, the wants of the British were soon supplied, although the price demanded for every article was most exorbitant, but it was expedient to yield a ready compliance; and there was no scarcity of money.

Notwithstanding the fate which threatened his capital was at that time averted, yet Tippoo thought fit to send a Vakeel to earl Cornwallis, with full powers to treat of peace, but the proposal was rejected. Soon after, a detachment from the sultan's army attacked the town of Coimbettore, which had been taken by the English, and was commanded by lieutenant Chalmers, who, after a very gallant defence, was obliged to capitulate.

As the army approached Bangalore, all their sufferings and disappointments were forgotten in the inspiring information which they received. Not only an ample supply of every thing requisite again to take the field, with a most decided superiority of force, was in great forwardness of preparation; but advices had arrived, that the British parliament approved the war, and the conduct of the governor-general; that 500,000 pounds in specie was to be sent out that season by the company, and considerable

able augmentations to the army and artillery. *Major Dirom's Narrative, page* 24.

Early in December, general Abercromby proceeded through the Ghaunts toward the Mysore country, and on the 1st of February 1792, the allied armies were put in motion. On the 5th, they arrived within sight of Seringapatam, when immediate preparations were made to attack the enemy the next night. Earl Cornwallis commanded the centre; general Medows the right wing, and colonel Maxwel the left. Before day-break Tippoo's army gave way, yet the action was sustained through the whole day, but at length the English possessed themselves of the palace and beautiful gardens of the sultan, to whom nothing remained but the citadel. Tippoo's haughty spirit then seemed to be subdued, and he deputed lieutenant Chalmers and another officer, who were his prisoners, to solicit peace. On the 16th of February, the Bombay army joined earl Cornwallis; it consisted of 2000 Europeans, and 4000 effective native troops. The pacific overtures from Tippoo did not, however, prevent an attack being made upon the fort of Seringapatam, but whilst the approaches were regularly carrying on, preliminaries for a peace were signed by the British commander and his allies; which caused hostilities to cease on the 23d; three days after which, two young princes, the one ten, the other eight years of age, the second and third sons of the sultan, arrived in the British camp, as hostages from their

 father,

father, for his due fulfilment of the conditions; but it was not until the 19th of March that the definitive treaty was ratified.

It consisted of eight articles: by it the sultan stipulated to cede to the allied powers, one half of the dominions which were in his possession at the commencement of the war, subject to the selection of each, and adjacent to their respective boundaries, every district of which was fully specified in the treaty. To the Honourable the English Company, the country situated to the northward and eastward of the river Cavery, which was to become the boundary between the two powers on the side of the Carnatic; whilst an extensive district along the sea-coast or the Malabar or western side was surrendered, extending from Travancore north westward, nearly to the thirteenth degree of latitude; the revenues of both which are stated to amount to 13,16,765 5 4¼ Canteray pagodas, each equal to three rupees; the whole amounting to thirty-nine and an half lacks of rupees. The districts ceded to the Nizam, and those to the Poonah Mahratta power, are described with equal accuracy, and their revenues stated to be exactly equal. Three crore and thirty lacks of rupees were to be paid by Tippoo Sultan, either in gold-moheers, pagodas, or bullion: one half to be paid down, and the other half in three payments, to be made at distances of time, not exceeding four months each.

Thus was this important war terminated in the space of one and twenty months, in which time all the

the force and resources of the dreaded sovereign of Mysore were overwhelmed. This signal achievement was brought about at the expence of two million of debt, contracted by the English East-India Company, (*Dirom, p* 270.) whose possessions, both on the Coromandel and Malabar sides of the peninsula, are now rendered secure from every hostile attack; and the three principal native powers there are become possessed of a more equalized territory. The generous and disinterested conduct of the English toward their allies in this partition-treaty, ought to cement a firm and durable friendship; for whilst the services of the native armies consisted merely in rendering countenance and nominal support to the common cause, every sacrifice of men and money, during the whole war, was made by the English, except one battle fought and a few forts taken by the Mahratta army, assisted by the Bombay detachment, under general Little. (*See Moor's Narrative of those operations, and his very valuable Map.*)

Whatever the Sultan now possesses he owes to the clemency of the conquerors.

CHAP. VI.

PERSIA.

THOSE who delight to investigate the doubtful and conjectural origin of nations, have supposed that the human race, after the flood, was first dispersed over the regions which afterward bore the name of Persia, by Elam, or Elymas, the son of Shem, the first-born of Noah. In the writings of Moses, mention is made of the Elamites, a name by which the same people were sometimes distinguished many centuries after they were commonly known by the appellation of Persians; for in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. ii. verse 9) they are so called. In the prophecy of Daniel, the country is called Parus.

The earliest records (if we reject the doubtful and disputed traditions of the Chinese and Hindoos) place the grandeur and power of Persia in immediate succession to that of Egypt; for we may consider the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies are founded in the country of which we are speaking. At that time those extensive, fertile, and benign regions, now known by the general name of Persia, were possessed, to the northward, by the Medes, the middle regions by the Persians, and the southern by the Babyloni-

ans.

arts. The revolutions of the country have been since effected by that course of events, which has uniformly prevailed among the human race in every part of the globe; the inhabitants of the northern regions overran and subdued the country to the southward. The Medes, formed and led by Cyrus, son of Cambyses, king of Persia, who, by inheritance from his maternal uncle Cyaxares, became king of Media, subdued the Babylonish monarchy; and the three kingdoms being united under one sovereign, whose absolute power served only to display his virtues and his talents, became the admiration and terror of the surrounding territories. The wisdom of his government gave permanency to that dominion which his martial endowments and good fortune had enabled him to acquire; so that the ferocity of a conqueror was tempered with the equity of a legislator. The force of his example, and the weight of his authority, were exerted to counteract the natural propensity of the Persians to sloth and effeminacy. After he had completed his conquests, he reigned over his widely-extended empire only seven years, and died 529 years before the Christian æra. In the ancient history of the world, the character of Cyrus shines with peculiar lustre; nor could the memory of this conqueror and statesman be more nobly immortalized than it is by the pen of Xenophon, who chose the personal character and wise government of this king, from which to take his model of a human being formed by nature, education,

tion, habits, and accomplishments, to rule mankind, and acting in every respect for the benefit of the people whom he governed: and the illustrious Ferdusi, who, according to Sir William Jones, deserves to be called the Homer of Persia, celebrates the successful war which Cyrus waged against Afrasiah, king of the Turanians, and the kings of Khatai and India, in a noble poem. Rostan, or Rustam, was the general under Cyrus in this war: he was of princely descent; and the Persians to this day entertain many fabulous notions concerning him.

In the person of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, the virtues of the father were not to be traced. A tyrant in his own dominions, he aimed at spreading misery still wider. Egypt, subdued by his power, groaned under his oppressions. His rage for conquest led him to march a powerful army into Ethiopia; but from this expedition he was obliged to return disgracefully. It is conjectured that this prince is the same that is mentioned in the Jewish history, under the name of Ahasuerus. Smerdis, an impostor, succeeded him, and is called Artaxerxes, in Scripture: but he being soon cut off, Darius, son of Hystaspes, who was governor of the province of Persia, was advanced to the sovereignty by the general consent of the nobles. He extended his dominions on every side; reduced Thrace, and penetrated far into India. His sovereignty is said to have extended 2,800 English miles from E. to W. from the Hellespont to the mouth of the river Indus,

Indus, exclusive of Thrace, which became tributary; and 2,000 miles from N. to S.; namely, from Pontus to the mouth of the Arabian gulf. This glare of greatness was produced by false notions of government, which caused the manners of the Persians to become effeminate, and their principles corrupt and base; while the empire became unwieldy from its vast extent. Darius had numerous armies, but no soldiers. An immense body of men was sent against the states of Greece, which was totally routed by nine thousand Greeks under Miltiades, at Marathon. Before Christ, 490.

The tribute which Darius Hystaspes levied upon those parts of India which he conquered, is asserted by Herodotus to have amounted to near one third of the whole revenue of the Persian monarchy. *lib.* iii. According to that writer, the Persian empire was, at that time, divided into twenty satrapys, or governments; and he specifies the tribute which was levied from each, which amounted in the whole to 14,560 Eubæan talents. According to Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables of Ancient Coins, the amount in pounds sterling is 2,807,437 pounds. Dr. Robertson justly remarks that such a sum was extremely small for the revenue of the great king; and ill accords with many facts concerning the riches, magnificence, and luxury of the East, that occur in ancient authors.

Xerxes, the son of Darius by a daughter of Cyrus, succeeding his father, endeavoured to wipe of the disgrace

disgrace at Marathon. Having strengthened his power at sea by forming a league with the Carthaginians, he led in person an army composed of 1,700,000 foot, and 8,000 horse, against Greece; if we may credit the assertion of Herodotus; who has been charged with sacrificing truth to fable and embellishment; but in this instance he may not be materially erroneous. Xerxes passed this immense army over from Asia into Europe, by forming a bridge across the Hellespont with boats closely lashed together. He directed his course to Attica through the kingdom of Thrace; but in passing the straits of Thermopylæ he was opposed by a small body of intrepid Spartans, who slew 20,000 Persians in the contest for entering the Grecian territories. In this action, Leonidas, king of Sparta, with 300 Spartans, called "the select band of brothers," voluntarily devoted themselves to death. Xerxes, after this dear-bought advantage, proceeded to Attica, and entered Athens; its inhabitants having taken refuge on board the Grecian fleet, which was commanded by Themistocles, who soon after gained a memorable victory over the Persian fleet at Salamis: an action equally decisive as that of Marathon, and performed ten years after it. Xerxes finding his communication with Asia cut off, by the Greeks being masters at sea, began to despond; and being destitute of all true greatness of character, from the extreme of haughtiness, sunk into the most abject pusillanimity. Impelled by fear, he abandoned Greece, and made a precipitate retreat

through

through Thrace. His army being unable to procure ſubſiſtence, the greateſt part of it periſhed miſerably by famine, that effectual auxiliar to the ſwords of the Greeks. The Perſian king reached the banks of the Helleſpont, with the ſcanty remnant of his mighty force; but his bridge of boats had been ſwept away by a ſtorm, and no means of tranſporting his famiſhed followers were at hand. With Xerxes, the loſs of honour ſeemed only to increaſe his fondneſs of life; heroes alone grow prodigal of it when fortune proves adverſe: the appropriated ſatisfaction of a great mind in diſtreſs, is to die bravely; but ſuch a principle rarely actuates an Aſiatic monarch. Abandoning his army, he reached the oppoſite ſhore in a fiſhing boat. The war was afterward maintained by Mardonius, and other Perſian generals; the events of it have immortalized the names of Pauſanias, Ariſtides, and Cymon, under whom the Greeks triumphed at ſea and on land. Xerxes, no longer captivated by military parade, abandoned himſelf to voluptuous exceſſes; and his natural cruelty being ſharpened by diſappointment and diſgrace, he directed that all the temples of the Greeks in Aſia ſhould be demoliſhed, becauſe the Ionians had burnt Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and with it the temple of the goddeſs Cybele. This order was ſo zealouſly obeyed, that no other temple eſcaped than that of Diana at Epheſus. During this inglorious reign, many provinces revolted; and the tyrant was at length aſſaſſinated.

Artaxerxes,

Artaxerxes, his third ſon, ſucceeded him: this prince is ſtyled in Scripture Ahaſuerus. The enmity which the Greeks bore the Perſians, cauſed the war to be maintained through a great part of this reign, which continued forty years; but toward the cloſe of it a peace was concluded. On the death of Artaxerxes, the government was weakened by the conteſts which aroſe among his children; of whom one was by his queen, and ſeventeen by concubines. Each attempting to aſcend the throne, the brothers were intent on the deſtruction of each other: at length the fortunes of Ochus prevailed, and he was acknowledged king, by the name of Darius; to which was commonly added the epithet of Nothus, or the baſtard. This prince reigned nineteen years; and at his death tranſmitted the diadem to his ſon Arſaces, by his wife Paraſytis, who took the name of Artaxerxes; and was called by the Greeks Mnemon, or "the Rememberer," from his retentive memory.

Though no open war was maintained at this time between the Perſians and the Greeks, yet mutual jealouſies of each other cauſed them alike to foment every civil commotion which broke out in the rival ſtate. A rupture ariſing between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, an army of Perſians, under Cyrus, younger brother to Arſaces, was ſent to ſtrengthen the latter againſt the former, a ſhort time before the death of Darius their father. Xenophon deſcribes this prince to have been, of all the Perſians ſince the ancient

ancient Cyrus, poſſeſſed of the moſt noble endowments, and the talents beſt fitted for command. No ſooner did his father's death raiſe his brother to the throne, than he ſecretly meditated his own elevation to that dignity; in which deſign he was aſſiſted by their common mother Paraſytis: he founded his pretenſions on his being born after his father's elevation. Concealing his real deſign, by the pretence of marching againſt a rebellious governor, he prevailed on ten thouſand Greeks, under the command of Clearchus, to accompany him from Ionia, in a march of two thouſand miles; until at length, by his liberal promiſes, joined to a noble and perſuaſive deportment, he prevailed on them to lend their aſſiſtance to dethrone his brother. A deciſive battle was fought near Babylon; the army of Artaxerxes amounting to 900,000 men, beſide 300,000 which were on their march to join it. This vaſt and almoſt incredible amount of the Perſian army, does not depend on the aſſertion of Herodotus, but reſts on the authority of the accurate Xenephon, and Plutarch aſſerts the ſame, in his life of Artaxerxes. The Greeks were oppoſed to the left wing of the royal Perſian army, which was compoſed of one third of their whole force: but notwithſtanding the immenſe diſproportion of numbers, ſuch was the terror which diſciplined bravery immediately ſtruck into theſe timid Aſiatics, that they precipitately fled on the firſt onſet. Cyrus was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt his brother in the centre; but though victory had declared in his favour, yet chancing to eſpy the vanquiſhed king amidſt the diſcomfited

comfited hoſt, he ſprung toward him with an impetuoſity that rendered him inſenſible of the danger to which he expoſed his perſon. The brothers engaged each other for a ſhort time; but an attendant on the king aimed a javelin at Cyrus, which ſlew him on the ſpot; and thus brought back to Artaxerxes his departed empire.

It is highly probable, that if the fortunes of Cyrus had prevailed, and he had lived to govern Perſia for ſome years, the events of that empire might have taken a very different direction. Scrupulouſly exact in performing what he promiſed, a quick diſcerner of the true characters of men, active and intrepid; equally qualified to attach the meritorious to his intereſts by his munificence in rewarding merit, and to deter the baſe from acts of outrage by his vigilant government and ſtern juſtice, he ſeemed formed to ſtrengthen, adorn, and preſerve the empire, when it had loſt the true principles of ſelf-preſervation, and was alike deſtitute of the civil and martial virtues which render a people happy and reſpectable. Soon after the battle, Clearchus and all the Grecian leaders, confiding in the ſolemn oaths of the Perſians, were deluded into a conference; and being drawn from their army, were ſeized upon and put to death by order of Artaxerxes. The army then choſe other leaders, one of whom was Xenophon, a volunteer in the expedition, and whoſe pen has recorded, with eminent ſimplicity and beauty, this memorable event in ancient hiſtory, which he was the chief cauſe of effecting.

effecting. Clearchus, with this small army of Greeks, had offered to place Ariæus, a general under Cyrus, on the throne of Persia; but this service being declined, the new leaders, by their courage, conduct, and good fortune, brought back the Greeks, without any considerable loss, to the Thracian shore of the Propontis. The astonishing superiority which they every where maintained over their foes, whom they haughtily styled Barbarians, no doubt pointed out to Alexander, seventy years afterward, the facility with which he might become master of the vast empire of Persia. From the crafty politics of Philip, Alexander inherited the power, from the lessons of Aristotle he acquired the cultivation of mind, but from the pen of Xenophon the information, which enabled him to become the conqueror of Asia.

Artaxerxes reigned over Persia forty-six years (Plutarch says sixty-three), which his restless and enterprising spirit filled with an almost uninterrupted series of wars. He had three sons by his queen, namely, Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus; and is said to have had one hundred and fifty sons by his concubines. His first-born and favourite son Darius conspired against him, and engaged fifty of his brothers in the plot; which being discovered, all those who were concerned were put to death. Ochus afterward caused his elder brother Ariaspes to be murdered; soon after which his father died, at the age of ninety-four, of a disorder contracted by grief. *(Plutarch, Justin.)*

Ochus then became possessed of the throne, and was distinguished as the most cruel and

 wicked

wicked of all the princes of his race." He put every defcendant of the royal family to death, without regard to fex, age, or proximity of blood: his cruelties to the nobility were equally wanton and alarming. He reigned twenty-one years, having over-ran Egypt in a mercilefs manner; and was at length poifoned by his favourite Bagoas, who raifing one and another to the empty title of king, referved to himfelf all the powers of government; but at length he too was poifoned, by the creature he had raifed to the throne, and who took the name of Darius III.: but this prince poffeffed the actual fovereignty only two years; for Alexander invading Perfia, revenged the Greeks for the repeated inroads which had been made into their territories from that quarter, and brought the Perfians under the Macedonian yoke. This memorable revolution was effected with thirty-five thoufand veteran troops, of which five thoufand were horfe, whom the difcipline and wars of Philip had brought to furpafs every thing which the world at that time knew of military efficiency: "A hoft," fays Quintus Curtius, "firm to ftand, and prompt to be led on; attentive not only to the commands of their leader, but to his very wink." Alexander had learnt from the experience of Xenophon, how effential a body of horfe was in a Perfian war: with this army he totally defeated Darius, at the head of 400,000 men; among whom were 30,000 Greek mercenaries, commanded by Thymodes, and who might be faid to be the only foldiers that were oppofed

to

to him; all the rest of that vast multitude, whilst they shone in the rich trappings of Persian luxury, possessed such coward hearts, that they were ready to flee at the first approach of an enemy. Xenophon informs us, that in his time, the barbarians under Cyrus were seized with a panic, and fled at sight of the Greek auxiliars, when they were drawn up in battalia, and passed in review: like Gorgons, they appalled these abject spirits by their looks. Such were the enemies with whom Alexander had to contend; which renders it far from being intrinsically the greatest exploit which history has transmitted to us, though in its consequences it is unquestionably the most brilliant.

This revolution took place three hundred and thirty-three years before the birth of Christ; and was effected by a general no more than twenty-two years of age. Alexander, after this, pushed his conquests into Egypt; and, his restless ambition increasing as his dominions expanded, he led his victorious army over the mountains which separate Persia from India.

The knowledge which he had acquired of the fertility, riches, and defenceless condition of that vast country, immediately after the easy conquest which he had made of Persia, opened to his view something like a new world, and an object boundless as his ambition. After having penetrated into the country now called Lahore, and crossed those six streams, which, rising in remote parts, and

vastly distant from each other, proceed in a southerly, but approximating direction, until, by uniting, they form the majestic Indus, or Sinde, in the district now called Moultan, his design was to have subdued all the country lying between the Indus and the Ganges, northward of the peninsula; but his soldiers, inured as they were to hardships and difficulties, and greatly as they venerated their leader, refused to assist him in so vast an undertaking: he was therefore obliged to confine his operations to the borders of the Indus.

It has been generally supposed that Alexander built only two cities in the north-western parts of India, namely, Nicæa and Bucephalia; each situated on the Hydaspes; the modern Behut, Ihylum, or Chelum. But Arrian asserts, lib. v. 'that he built a third city, on the river Acesines, now the Chunaub, under the direction of Hephestion.

The conceptions and plans of this wonderful man were as judicious and profound as they were comprehensive and grand. It was not the vain glorious ostentation of a youthful monarch, intoxicated by success, which led him to build these cities, but for the purpose of possessing places of strength, which should open him a way to farther conquests, to be achieved on a future expedition; and this hope reconciled him to the necessity which was then laid upon him, of confining his operations to the borders of the Indus; which river he descended, unannoyed by any enemy capable of opposing him, and in so deliberate a manner as to obtain the fullest informa-

tion

tion of every thing respecting the country and the people which might be conducive to his future designs.

The fleet which failed down the Indus when it reached the ocean, was put under the sole command of Nearchus, one of his most consummate and confided generals, who by his conduct in this new and arduous enterprise, proved himself worthy of such a charge. The fleet consisted of near a thousand vessels, collected in the country, and had near 40,000 soldiers on board. Alexander quitted this fleet when it arrived at the mouth of the Indus, and led the greatest part of his army, consisting of about 80,000 men, and 200 elephants, back to Persia by land. Nearchus coasted along the northern shores of the Arabian sea, until he arrived at the entrance of the Persian gulf, and proceeding along its whole extent entered the Euphrates, and successfully completed his new and perilous voyage in the course of seven months.

It is probable that Alexander was impelled to undertake his expedition into India, so immediately after his conquest of Persia, by the insatiable desire of acquiring great wealth, and a vast extent of territory; that pestiferous taint which vitiates ambition: but the contemplation of the Indus, and the minute investigation which followed, filled his mind with a design much more rational, laudable, and patriotic, being no other than the plan of enriching his new acquired empire of Persia, by opening for it a trade

 with

with India, for which the local situation of the two countries was admirably calculated; but of which the Persians, from the strong dislike which they bore to commercial concerns, had neglected to avail themselves.

Alexander lived ten years after he became possessed of the Persian empire: but the luxurious magnificence of the east gradually enslaved the conqueror: and Philip, his reputed father, having renounced him as a son whilst he was yet a child, in consequence of his mother, Olympias, having declared that she had conceived him by the embraces of a serpent, he became desirous to convert the ambiguity of his birth into the means of his exaltation; and through the obsequious compliance of a priest he was declared to be the son of Jupiter Ammon. But no sooner was he exalted to the skies, than he sunk below the proper character of a man; and the excesses, cruelties, and acts of phrenzy which stained the latter years of his life, shew that he no longer possessed that truly great and noble mind which adorned his youth. Though he died at an age when few great characters have attained celebrity, yet he too long survived himself.

After the death of Alexander, his vast dominions were dismembered; each of his generals taking possession of such a portion as he could best appropriate to himself. In this division, the kingdom of Media was obtained by Seleucus Nicator, who transmitted it to his son, and to his grandson Antiochus Theos, who

who was conquered by a band of Scythian emigrants, which having settled in the barren and mountainous country of Parthia, grew to be numerous and powerful, and under the conduct of Arsaces became the conquerors of the east. This prince transmitted to his descendants the sovereignty which he had acquired, and which was preserved with great lustre during a period of four hundred and seventy-five years. The Parthians, under various leaders, contended with the Roman power when arrived at its greatest height, and commanded by their most renowned generals. Such was the veneration in which the memory of this founder of the kingdom was held, that from him the Parthian kings of the same race took the name of Arsaces; as the kings of Egypt did that of Ptolemy, and the Roman emperors that of Cæsar.

Justin describes this people as having in a manner divided the world with the Romans, lib. xli. The wars between the Parthians and Romans first broke out after the conclusion of the Roman social war, when the struggles for power between the people and the senate made Italy a scene of slaughter. The senate at length so far prevailed as to appoint Sylla to the command of an army destined to act in Asia. This was undertaken upon such slight pretexts, as the Romans had generally used, when they aimed at aggrandizing themselves by the subjugation of foreign nations. The true reasons for engaging in this distant war, appear to have been a desire to divert the atten-

tion of the people from internal politics to foreign conquests; to dazzle the Romans with the splendour of victories; and to enrich the army and its leader with the spoils of captured kingdoms.

Sylla, for three years waged a successful war against Mithridates, the second of that name, and fifth in succession to the throne of Parthia. The spoils which were brought to Rome by this expedition rendering the people impatient to renew the war, Pompey was soon after appointed to conduct it; and though the jealousies of the senate for a time suspended him from his command, yet it being found that he alone was able to make head against the Parthian king, he was permitted to prosecute the war, which ended in the overthrow of Mithridates.

When the first triumvirate was firmly settled, Licinius Crassus chose the province of Syria for his government, with a view to gratify his insatiable thirst for wealth; and for some time carried on a predatary war in Mesopotamia, and even to the eastward of the Euphrates, with great success; but he was at length drawn into a snare by Orodes, king of Parthia, and perished, together with the greatest part of his army, fifty-five years before the Christian æra. The standards taken from the Roman legions were hung up as trophies at Seleucia; but the head of Crassus being brought to Orodes, he is said to have ordered melted gold to be poured into the mouth, to express his detestation of the insatiable avarice which prompted that Roman to attack him.

To

To revenge this disgrace cast upon the Roman name, Julius Cæsar was meditating a formidable invasion of Parthia, when he met his death in the senate-house: he had indeed, after the defeat and death of Pompey, and the conquest of Egypt, passed over into Thrace, where he subdued Pharnaces, then king of Parthia, on the banks of the Bosphorus: by this expedition he became master of the kingdom of Armenia, which he bestowed on Ariobarzanes. The rapidity of Cæsar's conquests on this occasion was such, as led him to describe them in three words, *veni, vidi, vici*; which Shakespear makes one of his characters call "Cæsar's Thrasonical brag."

When the second triumvirate had divided the Roman empire amongst themselves, Mark Antony led an army into Persia; but the fascinating charms of Cleopatra had then subdued that veteran, and the events of the war were to him highly inglorious: his baggage was taken by the enemy, and 32,000 of his men perished. The great reputation which Augustus acquired by subduing his colleagues, and gaining the entire possession of the Roman empire, caused the Parthians, who were then weakened by intestine dissentions, to deprecate his resentment; and in order to procure a peace, they restored the colours which had been taken from the army under Crassus. The Parthians were stigmatized by the Romans for their treachery and perfidiousness, to whom they were terrible on account of their manner of fighting, and their expertness in the manage-

ment

ment of their horſes. Horace makes frequent mention of this people; and, from the manner in which he ſpeaks of them, it appears that they were conſidered as the moſt formidable power with which the Romans then had to contend. They are mentioned by that incomparable bard, under the different names of Perſians, Medes, and Parthians. When he uſes the two former names, it is to deſcribe either the luxurious pomp of their kings, the treachery of the nation, the remoteneſs of its ſituation, or the civil commotions which then prevailed there. (*See Lib.* i. *Ode* 21. —*Lib.* iii. *Ode* 8. & 11.—*Lib.* iv. *Ode* 15. & *Carm. ſec.*)—But when he mentions the Parthians, it is always deſcriptive of a people fierce and formidable in war. (*See Lib.* i. *Ode* 1, 12, & 19.—*Lib.* ii. *Ode* 13.—*Lib.* iii. *Ode* 2.—*Sat. Lib.* ii. *Sat.* i. *Epiſt. Lib.* i. *Epiſt.* 18.)

The contentions for the throne of Parthia, which prevailed for many years, gave the Romans an opportunity, during the reign of Tiberius and afterward, to weaken that kingdom by fomenting its internal diſſentions. The ſhort limits of this hiſtorical ſketch will not permit us to trace the regular ſucceſſion of Parthian kings. It muſt ſuffice to mention that the emperor Trajan led an army in perſon againſt that kingdom: having ſubdued Armenia and Meſopotamia, he reduced them to Roman provinces; for which exploit he obtained the ſurnames of Armenicus and Parthicus. He then croſſed the Euphrates, and ſubdued the richeſt parts of Parthia, by which he brought

brought the whole country to be tributary to the Romans. Adrian, his successor, made the Euphrates the boundary of his empire to the eastward, A. D. 131. The emperor Verus plundered and burnt the famous cities of Babylon and Ctesiphon, with the stately palaces of the Parthian monarchs; after which an almost uninterrupted series of war continued during a century; until the power of Parthia was at length so greatly reduced, that the Persians, under an intrepid leader, named Artaxerxes, made a successful effort to regain their liberty; and dispossessed the Parthians of that power which they had for centuries held. Artaxerxes then assumed the double diadem of Persia and Parthia, and the pompous title of "King of Kings," A. D. 260.

This revolution in the governing power of the country, caused no suspension in the wars which were waged with the Romans, and in which the kingdom of Mesopotamia appears to have been the principal scene of action. The emperor Valerian, leading an army against Sapos king of Persia, was defeated and taken prisoner; when he suffered from the conqueror the most insulting indignities, who is said to have set his foot on his neck when he mounted his horse, and at length to have caused him to be flayed alive. Odenatus king of Palmyra, for some time revenged the cause of the Romans upon the Persians. When the eastern empire was settled by Constantine, Hormisdas reigned over Persia, and the kingdom enjoyed a profound peace: this repose continued

continued during nine years. He died without issue; but his queen being then pregnant, the Magi declared that the offspring which she then bore was a son; whereupon the nobles swore allegiance to their prince *in utero*, and placed the royal diadem on the part which inclosed him. After the Magi had thus pronounced, it was impossible that the child born could be any other than a male; but whether it was a real or a suppositious prince, his actions, when he had passed his minority, discovered great spirit and abilities. He received the name of Sapor or Schabour: he fought successively with the three eastern emperors, Constantine, Constans, and Julian, the latter of whom fell in battle; and Jovian, who succeeded, purchased a peace at the price of five provinces. Sapor, who may be said to have reigned longer than he lived, died in the seventy-second year of his age. No reign recorded in Asiatic history has been lengthened out to such a period; although the modern history of France can produce two successive reigns, each of equal duration with this.

Toward the close of the fourth century, the Christian religion first began to be tolerated in Persia, by Isdigertes, who reigned over that kingdom with such justice, equity, and ability, that the emperor Arcadius, when dying, committed to him the care of his infant son, then only eight years old, who was to be his successor; he left him also the regency of the eastern empire during the minority: which important trusts he

he executed with such fidelity and disinterestedness, as served to cement an amity between the two empires; and suspended for a while those fierce contentions which till then had prevailed. Varanes V. succeeded his father. He was in his infancy sent into Arabia, where he received his education, and had attained to manhood, when the death of his father gave him a right to the crown; but his absence enabled Kersa, a Persian nobleman, to possess himself of it. Varanes led an army of Arabians to attack the usurper: the forces of the competitors were drawn up in order of battle; when Varanes, to prevent the slaughter consequent on a general engagement, proposed to the army which opposed him, that the crown of Persia should be placed on a cushion in the centre of an enclosed circle, into which two hungry lions should be turned; and that candidate for the crown who would attempt to gain it by encountering those fierce animals, should be acknowledged king. The daring spirit, so blended with humanity, which dictated this proposal, caused it to be adopted by the Persians who supported the cause of Kersa; but their leader shrinking from so dreadful a conflict, Varanes, like another Jason, undertook the exploit, slew the lions, and, placing the diadem on his own head, was universally acknowledged king of Persia. The intemperate zeal of Abdas, bishop of Persia, drew down upon the Christians a severe persecution. This happening in the reign of Theodosius, emperor of the east, brought on a war between the

the two countries; and the Saracens being instigated by the Persian prince to invade Syria, were, in the end, driven back, with the loss of 100,000 men. The Romans were likewise successful against the Persians; but by the judicious measures which were taken by Varanes, his enemies were at length exhausted by their very victories, whilst the Persians gathered strength under their defeats. This war was entered into, on the part of Theodosius, to obtain for the Christians a toleration in Persia; and ceased as soon as that object was accomplished. What facilitated this event, was the humanity shewn to a large number of Persian prisoners, who were confined at Amida; and being ready to perish by hunger and nakedness, the Christians of that place, moved by the exhortations of Acases their bishop, caused all the gold and silver vessels which were made use of in their churches to be sold, and the produce to be applied to the relief of those captives. Varanes reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his son, Varanes VI. He is described by Herbelot as a great law-giver, and a wise prince.

The succeeding periods of the Persian history are very differently related by the Greek and Oriental historians. Toward the close of the fifth and at the beginning of the sixth century, an almost continual state of warfare was maintained between the kingdom of Persia and the eastern empire, in which the Grecian general Belisarius, under the emperor Justinian, distinguished himself by his victories: after

which

which Cosroes, the second of that name, reigned in Persia: he was likewise called *Nouschirvan*, or "the Magnificent." He suppressed some flagitious and dangerous tenets which were spreading fast in Persia; made war upon Justinian; took and rased to the ground the venerable city of Antioch. Belisarius was then again put at the head of the Greek forces, being found the only general capable of making head against the Persians, A. D. 540. This may be considered as the second religious war; the Greek emperor protecting the Christians against the persecutions of the Persian king, as Theodosius had done, more than a century before. On the death of Justinian, and the succession of Justin, Cosroes gained a yet greater ascendancy over the empire: but Sophia, the wife of Justin, wrote a pathetic letter to the king, representing the emperor as deprived of his senses, and making her appeal to his clemency and humanity; which caused him to desist from farther hostilities. This peace was of short duration; and in the war which afterward broke out, Justinian, the Greek general, gained a memorable victory over Cosroes in person (then eighty years of age), who died soon after, having reigned forty-eight years. After his death, contentions for the crown caused foreign wars to cease. Under the reign of Hormisdas, his son, a mean and worthless prince, Varamus, the Persian general, greatly distinguished himself; who being disgusted at the king, stirred up the army to revolt, and to place the crown on the head of the

king's ſon. This revolution exhibits one of the firſt inſtances of that cruel and extirpating ſpirit, which in the modern hiſtory of Perſia has been ſo continually exhibited. Hormiſdas, after his eyes had been put out, was ſtrangled; his wife and younger ſon put to death; whilſt Coſroes, the eldeſt ſon, was advanced to the throne, in which he was maintained by the aſſiſtance of the Greek emperor Mauritius, againſt the attempts of Varamus: but the emperor being murdered by Phocas, who aſſumed the government, Coſroes was furniſhed with a pretext to invade the Greek provinces, where he exerciſed the moſt deſolating cruelty, being inſtigated by the Jews againſt the Chriſtians: Syria, both upper and lower Egypt, together with the ſouthern ſhore of the Euxine ſea, were ſucceſſively ſubdued by him, and vaſt numbers of Chriſtians who inhabited thoſe countries were ſold into ſlavery. After an ineffectual application for peace, deſpair at length effected among the Greeks, what the diſmembering of their empire could not bring about. Heraclius, who had murdered and ſucceeded Phocas, raiſed a powerful army, at the head of which he repeatedly defeated Coſroes, and recovered the provinces which that prince had overrun. But the Perſian king had ſtill a more dangerous enemy in his own family, for Siroes, his ſon, ſoon after depoſed and murdered him; and to ſecure to himſelf the throne, put to death ſeventeen of his brothers: but the power which he had thus acquired by the ſlaughter of his parent and kindred,

kindred, he retained only a short time, being himself murdered in the first year of his reign: after which the history of this kingdom becomes confused and uncertain; nor do the occurrences of this period appear sufficiently interesting to cause it to be greatly regretted that they are not more clearly developed.

At this time a new and formidable power arose: Mahomed having, with the most consummate art and address, introduced a system of religion which increased the natural ferocity of rude uncivilized men, by the maddening stimulants of superstition and enthusiasm, caused a new æra in the history of the world. After his death, the tenets which he had inculcated were received with great avidity, and his immediate successors overspread a vast extent of country, every where planting their faith with their swords. The ancient and venerable kingdom of Persia was unable to withstand the swarm of invaders which poured in upon it. "The Arabs," says Sir William Jones, "under the command of Omar, were perpetually making inroads upon the Persian empire, and finally overthrew it." *Hist. of Persia*, p. lxvi. Isdigertes, or, according to Sir William Jones, Yezdegird, who then reigned, was successively driven from all his fastnesses by these fierce conquerors (who had obtained the name of Saracens), and was at length defeated and slain. These barbarians secured to themselves the permanent possession of their conquest, by procuring the van-

 quished

quished Persians to embrace the Mahometan faith, A. D. 652.

The Arabians under the Saracen empire, the Turks, Tartars, and Armenians, by turns possessed or divided Persia during 769 Years; but this period is involved in great obscurity. "Omar," says Sir William Jones, "was succeeded by a race of Califs, the popes of Asia, who assumed at once a regal and a priestly character, the one as conquerors of Persia, and the other as successors of Mahomed. The family of Ommia preserved their power and dignity; but, under the house of Abbas, the califate was reduced to a shadow of sovereignty, and their empire was divided among a number of independent princes." The division of the empire prepared it for dissolution; the sons of Genghiz, who led a numerous army of Tartars over the Oxus, found the conquest of Persia an easy task. It is related, that Holagu, a Mogul prince, who put an end to the califate in the thirteenth century, was incited to besiege Bagdad by the great astronomer Nassireddin, who had taken offence at the Calif's behaviour to him; if that is the fact, the subversion of an empire was brought about by the resentment of a private philosopher; but Herbelot rejects this story. Toward the close of the fourteenth century, the famous Timur Beg, improperly called Tamerlane, chief of the Ousbeg Tartars, subdued Persia. He died in the year 1405, and his posterity ruled over the empire until the 800th Hegira, or A. D. 1499; when Ismael

mael Sofi, or "the religious," deposed the reigning prince, established himself in the sovereignty, and founded a new dynasty of princes, called the Sophis. This Ismael is said to have been the nineteenth lineal descendant in the male line from Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet, and author of the schism by which Mahometanism became divided into two branches, each rigidly attached to their own peculiar tenets, and entertaining an inveterate hatred to the other. (See under the head of *Religion.*) This race of princes filled the throne of Persia in uninterrupted succession for 223 years; during which period fierce wars were maintained between the Persian and Ottoman empires. Among the princes of this race, none were so conspicuous for their talents and patriotism, as Shah Abas I.: he began his reign in the year 1584, when no more than eighteen years of age, and reigned forty-five years. He extended his empire by the conquest of Candahar, and the southern coast of the Black Sea: Georgia and Armenia he wrested from the Turks, whom he likewise drove out of Mesopotamia, and subdued all the country to the right of the Euphrates: he then attempted the conquest of the island of Ormus, situated at the entrance of the Persian gulf; and being assisted by some English ships, took it, after a siege of two months. Immense wealth was found here, which was shared by the conquerors, and the place underwent a total demolition; Abas choosing to fix the mart of trade between Persia and India at Ben-

der Abaſſi, on account of its harbour, and other local advantages, although the unhealthineſs of the ſpot on which the town was built rendered it rather a tomb than a dwelling-place. From Abas this place received the name of Gombroon; and here the Engliſh, who engaged to maintain conſtantly two men of war, not only obtained a perpetual exemption from all duties, but were admitted to an equal ſhare of the commercial revenue with the Shah. The internal government of the empire next engaged the attention of this aſſiduous monarch; the ſplendor of whoſe talents was ſuch as enabled him to weaken and reduce the formidable power of the Perſian nobility, and the no leſs obnoxious aſcendency of the army; by which he advanced the regal dignity to an uncontrolled height of deſpotiſm: nor was the innovation, which he introduced into a favourite religious cuſtom, perhaps leſs bold and daring than the attacks on his nobles and military officers: it being the general practice throughout Perſia, for every man, at leaſt once in his life, to go in pilgrimage to Mecca, which occaſioned much wealth to be carried out of the kingdom, Abas cauſed the city of Meſched, in the province of of Khoraſan, to be conſidered by all Perſians as the place of reſort for performing that act of devotion. This renowned prince died in 1629, having for many years enjoyed the addition of "the great" to his name. The accumulating wealth which centred in Perſia, introduced effeminacy of manners; and

and meanneſs, ſervility, perfidiouſneſs, and treachery, marked the national character, to the utter excluſion of every virtuous and manly ſpring of action.

The Afghans, a people inhabiting, for time immemorial, the mountains which ſeparate Perſia from India, had ſpread themſelves over the adjoining province of Candahar, in the beginning of the eighteenth century; other provinces and tributary ſtates, from the ſucceſs of this revolt, and the weakneſs to which the empire was ſunk, threw off the Perſian yoke. Huſſein, the Shah, or king, at that time, led a numerous army toward Candahar, but he was totally defeated, and 15,000 Perſians ſlain, at Gulnabad, by Mir-Mahmud, at the head of a ſmall army of Afghans; the treaſure, artillery, and baggage of the vanquiſhed, fell into the hands of the conqueror. This event, which at once decided the fate of the empire, happened on the 8th of March 1722. The Perſian monarch, by nature timid, ſupine, and abject, diffuſed a portion of his imbecility through every rank of the ſtate, whilſt the Afghan prince led his victorious troops to the gates of Iſpahan without oppoſition. With his ſmall army, conſiſting, as it ſhould ſeem, of not more than 30,000 men, he effectually blockaded a city of twenty-four Engliſh miles in circumference, containing 600,000 inhabitants, beſide an acceſſion of near 100,000 more, who had fled, with their effects, from the open country, hoping to find protection and ſecurity in the capital of the empire.

 The

The country having been laid waste for several miles by the besiegers, the wretched inhabitants of this metropolis suffered the most dreadful calamities which famine could inflict; but not even desperation could excite them to attempt to dislodge the inconsiderable numbers of the enemy which occupied the posts that intercepted all supplies: so abject a surrender to wretchedness can scarcely be paralleled; but this inaction was not produced merely by the terror which the arms of the Afghans had inspired; for, by the secret correspondence which Mahmud maintained with some of the leading men in the court of Hussein, he was enabled to counteract all the designs which were formed, ere they were carried into effect.

When the blockade had continued six months, the king of Persia signified to the invader his desire of capitulating; but the crafty Afghan, under a variety of specious pretexts, protracted the negociation near a month; whilst each day augmented the misery of the perishing inhabitants: not the sufferings of the Jews in the famous siege of Jerusalem, nor any other miseries which famine, disease, and despair, are related in history to have produced, exceeded what were felt on this occasion: at length the king, unable to obtain any alleviating conditions for himself or his empire, quitted the city, to throw himself, unconditionally, on the mercy of his conqueror, and saved his life by resigning his crown and kingdom to Mahmud. What was the number of forces with which

which this great revolution was accomplished is not precisely stated; but the operations and issue of this blockade are among the most marvellous events which authentic history hands down, and plainly prove that the Persians were sunk so low in effeminacy, and had so lost every principle of self-defence, that they partook more of the nature of sheep than of men.

Mahmud was crowned king of Persia on the 27th of October 1722, being then no more than twenty-five years of age; still, however, the life of Hussein was spared, and the new king, soon after his elevation, married one of his daughters. At this time the distracted state of Persia led Peter the Great, who then reigned over the Russians, to seize upon the provinces which lay on the western and southern shores of the Caspian Sea, whilst the Turks at the same time formed designs against the provinces on the right of the Euphrates. At the time when these foreign enemies were dismembering the kingdom, the wretched Persians were given up, without mercy, to the unrestrained brutality of the soldiery, by whom they were plundered, abused, and slaughtered in the most outrageous manner. The cruelty of their barbarous conquerors knew no bounds; the noble city of Ispahan was almost depopulated in a short time. The views of Mahmud seemed directed to exterminate the Persians, not to govern them.

Tæhmas, son of Hussein, whom Sir William Jones calls Tahmasp, had escaped from Ispahan during the

blockade, and had retired to the province of Mazanderan, the ancient Margiana; but being a weak, irresolute, and inactive prince, he was utterly incapable of asserting his rights, although the usurper quickly lost the confidence of his army, by the voluptuous excesses to which he devoted himself; and, becoming more suspicious and cruel, in proportion as he lost the qualities of a hardy soldier, in one day he destroyed with his own hand all the blood-royal who were in his power, Hussein only excepted, and two infants, whose lives that prince interposed to save at the hazard of his own. The fury of those passions which had taken possession of the soul of Mahmud, presently hurried him into madness; and when he had sat upon the throne of Persia little more than two years, the army which had placed him there deposed him, and gave the regal dignity to Ashreff, one of his generals. This prince immediately caused the head of Mahmud to be struck off; and (in imitation of that usurper) put to death all those who had been concerned in raising him to the throne by betraying the interests of the reigning prince, and confiscated their estates. He possessed the talents of a general, and united with them no inconsiderable degree of political sagacity; but was beyond measure arrogant and assuming. The death of the Czar Peter left him nothing to fear from the Russians; and the exact agreement between the Turkish and Afghan faith, with whom the schism of Ali, to which the Persians adhered, was equally held in abhor-

rence,

rence, caused the Ottomans in general to be very averse to wage war against Ashreff: these considerations, joined to the weak state of that empire, which suffered greatly by a decisive victory, gained by the new king of Persia over a large army of Turks, brought on a treaty of peace, in the year 1727.

Whilst Ashreff was thus relieved from all apprehensions on the score of foreign enemies, and was strengthening himself in his government by the lenity and moderation which he shewed to his new subjects, his danger arose from a quarter where it was least apprehended. An obscure man, who by birth and fortune seemed to be placed far below the influence of ambition, by the uncommon energy of his mind, his restless, aspiring spirit, and a body endowed with a superiority of strength and powers, which marked him as the leader of fierce and enterprising barbarians, began at this time to distinguish himself in the kingdom of Khorasan. He was named Nader Kouli, or "the servant of the wonderful." At the early age of fifteen, he had shewn such a daring and intrepid disposition, as surpassed every thing which his hardy associates could attempt. A predatory life inured him to arms, and habituated him to hardiness and enterprise: to his followers he was soothing and insinuating; to his enemies revengeful and cruel; to those who stood in the way of his ambition, artful and insidious. He had now attained to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was possessed of something like the sovereignty of his native

native province of Khorasan: impatient to extend his views, he determined to take a part in the affairs of Persia; the distractions of that kingdom affording the most inviting opportunity to an enterprising and ambitious leader. In the life-time of Mahmud he had declared himself in favour of the exiled prince Tæhmas: his successes against different bodies of Afghans raised his reputation; and his professions of loyalty and attachment to the prince, whose cause seemed hopeless, procured him the warm confidence of the short-sighted Tæhmas, who raised him to the dignity of a Khan, and gave him the chief command of the Persian army. The natural powers of Nader's mind, unaided by education, enabled him to penetrate into the real characters and views of men, and gave him that ascendency which great minds acquire over the weak. By his attention to the army, he converted a military body which was truly contemptible, into a well-disciplined, intrepid, and formidable power. Ashreff led his Afghans against this new enemy, and a decisive action was fought near the city of Damgoon, in a plain called Mehmandost, in which the Afghans were totally defeated: this event happened on the 2d of October 1729. Soon after which success, Nader forced their camp, and obliged Ashreff to seek his safety by flight. These victories so greatly advanced the popularity of Nader, that Tæhmas began to discover great jealousy at the growing power of his general, whom he had now invested

with

with the most diſtinguiſhed mark of his favour, by conferring on him the honour of bearing his own name; ſo that he was now called Tæhmas Kouli Khan.

Aſhreff having repaired to Iſpahan after his defeats, cauſed the unfortunate prince Huſſein to be put to death; and plundering the city of its moſt valuable effects, retreated to Shiras. We are told by the Perſian writer of the Life of Nader Shah, that he maſſacred moſt of the inhabitants in cold blood, and among them a number of learned men, who had retired from the world, and hoped to cloſe their days in a ſtudious tranquillity. Thus ended the government of the Afghans, after it had continued ſeven years and twenty-one days. Tæhmas ſoon after entered the capital of Perſia, which exhibited the moſt diſmal ſcene of ruin and deſolation. Nader next obtained, or rather extorted, from the king, a delegation of his prerogative to levy money on the people, for the purpoſe of paying the army; which power was only wanting to render him king in effect, whilſt the paſſive prince enjoyed the empty title. Nader, after ſome time, drove the Afghans out of Shiras; and their whole force being diſperſed and broken, they became the prey even of the enraged peaſantry, who put all to death that came in their way; and by ſuch hands the ill-fated Aſhreff periſhed.

The Turks, who had ſupported the cauſe of the Afghans, next felt the reſentment of Nader, and were

 defeated

defeated by him in a pitched battle. In the year 1732 the Persian general, being at the head of an army devoted to his interests, and amounting to 70,000 men, thought it time to throw off the mask; he therefore seized upon the person of Tæhmas, whom he deposed, and advanced Abbas, the son of that prince, an infant only six months old, to the kingly dignity, whilst the officers and principal men in Persia appointed him regent of the state during the minority. Tæhmas was conveyed to Khorasan, where, says the Persian historian, "a magnificent prison was prepared for him and his seraglio, in which he passed the remainder of his life; and no doubt found his retirement, however disgraceful, more suitable to the indolence of his temper, and the weakness of his understanding, than the perpetual anxieties of a throne." Here, according to Hanway, he lived only eight years, and was then murdered by order of Riza Kouli, the eldest son of Nader (who had married one of his daughters) when he was regent of Persia.

Tæhmas had made a dishonourable peace with the Turks, which furnished the plea for deposing him; and Nader, immediately disclaiming it, marched an army against Bagdad; but he was defeated by Osmin, the Turkish general, with great loss: however, he soon wiped off that stain by the event of a second action, in which the Turks were routed, and Osmin, their leader, slain; all the Turkish baggage and artillery, together with the military chest, were

taken;

taken; and it is said that 40,000 Turks lost their lives. This battle was fought on the 26th of October 1733. A treaty of peace followed, by which the Turks restored every thing which they had gained from Persia during the intestine commotions of that kingdom; and the boundaries of the two empires were settled according to their ancient limits: but in this negociation Nader seems to have been duped by the artifice of Ahmed, governor of Bagdad; for sultan Mahmud not choosing to ratify the peace, hostilities were renewed, and a decisive battle was soon fought in the plain of Baghavend, near Erivan, in which the Turks greatly out-numbered the Persians. Hanway says, the latter army consisted of 55,000 men, and the former of 80,000; but the Persian historian talks in the most extravagant manner on this occasion, making the Turkish force to consist of 70,000 horse, and 50,000 foot, whilst he sinks the force of Nader to no more than 15,000 men: and in the event of that day the same author asserts, that the Turks left half their army dead or wounded, with Abdalla, their general, amongst the slain. Hanway relates it to have been a most decisive victory on the part of the Persians, without shaking our belief by describing such wonderful circumstances. The Porte was then glad to conclude a peace, on much worse terms than the basha of Bagdad had settled the year before.

Nader, whose ambition enlarged as his power increased, seems to have taken Alexander for his great exemplar; for in an embassy which was sent to the court

court of Ruſſia about this time, in the name of the infant king, Abbas III. Nader is deſcribed as "equal to Alexander in his valour and fortune."

In the year 1736 the infant king died, upon which event Nader convened all the governors, elders, and great officers, together with the generals of his army, in the plains of Mogan, near the banks of the Arras, where the whole of his army, amounting to near 100,000 men, was likewiſe collected Here, after expatiating on the deliverance which he had accompliſhed for Perſia, not only from foreign enemies, but the moſt deſtructive internal commotions, with conſummate diſſimulation he declared himſelf determined to retire to a private ſtation, and exhorted them to chooſe a king who ſhould be capable of defending the kingdom from outward violence, as well as of ſuppreſſing all tendency to ſecret diſſenſions. Such pretenſions to a diſintereſted patriotiſm, though enforced upon the eyes and ears of the audience by the moſt prepoſſeſſing ſemblance of ſincerity, could hardly gain credit with any one: had Nadir been ſincere in his profeſſions, he would not have collected on the ſpot ſo large an army, by means of which he held the lives and fortunes of all preſent at his abſolute diſpoſal. All ranks concurred in ſoliciting Nader to accept the diadem of Perſia, which he continued to decline; but was at length prevailed upon to receive, whilſt he ſtipulated that the crown ſhould be rendered hereditary in his family; that all the ſurviving deſcendants of the Seffie family ſhould receive

no

no protection whatever; and that the Persians should forsake the sect of Ali, and embrace that of Omar: conditions which plainly shew, that whilst Nader was openly refusing the offer of the crown of Persia, he was secretly meditating to annex the Ottoman empire to that kingdom, to which nothing could so effectually pave the way, as his proposed change in the religion of his country. Coins of various sorts were struck on this occasion, on which all Nader's titles were expressed on the one side, and on the reverse an Arabic inscription, implying, that what had happened was the best: the letters of which sentence are numeral, and when added together make 1149, the year of the Mahomedan epoch in which Nader was raised to the throne of Persia. Some of these coins are preserved in the Bodleian library. Hanway relates other inscriptions which were on some of the coins; one was, "Nader, king of kings, and glory of the age." Another, "Coins proclaim through the earth the reign of Nader, the king who conquers the world." The priests alone opposed that innovation in religion which the ambition of Nader had caused to be introduced, and for this conduct they soon felt the weight of his resentment, by being deprived of their revenues, which were applied to the maintenance of the army.

No sooner was the new king securely seated on the throne, than he turned his thoughts to an invasion of India: he had nothing at that time to apprehend from the Turks, who were then at war with the

the Russians; and the exhausted state of Persia obliged him to have recourse to some foreign means of maintaining that vast army which he had formed, and whose attachment to him was the only secure tenure by which he held his sovereignty. Accordingly, in December 1736, he began his march toward India. The pretext for waging war against the Mogul was founded on the asylum which he had afforded in his territories to the fugitive Afghans. The king of Persia led an army, consisting of more than 100,000 men, over the mountains. In this expedition he was attended by his second son Nasralla; his eldest, named Riza Kouli, was appointed regent of Persia during the absence of his father. The taking of Candahar and Cabul, places of considerable strength on the confines of the two empires, and defended by brave and hardy mountaincers, employed a year and a half; but these being reduced, his progress toward Delhi, the capital of Hindostan, received no considerable obstruction, although he was obliged, like Alexander, to pass his army over the five branches of the river Indus; but here no enemy appeared to oppose him. When he had advanced within seventy-five miles of the capital, an army composed of near 200,000 men, commanded by Mahommed Shah, the emperor of Hindostan, in person, was drawn up on the plains of Karnal, and offered battle to the Persians; Nader was no less impatient for action; and on the 14th of February 1739, a partial engagement took place, which, how-

ever,

ever, soon decided the fate of India; for the elephants, on whom the Indians chiefly relied, were rendered formidable only to their masters, by the superior address of Nader, who struck a terror into those unwieldy animals, by presenting to them portable fires wherever they advanced: these creatures having an instinctive dread of fire, immediately turned back, and rushing precipitately on the Indian army, threw it into confusion. This defeat left the unhappy Mahommed nothing to hope for but from the clemency of the conqueror; to obtain which, four days after the battle, he surrendered himself, his crown and kingdom, into the hands of Nader, who made his triumphal entry into Delhi on the 9th of March following.

The first act of power which the conqueror exercised, was, to monopolize all the corn to be found in that city, upon which he fixed a very advanced price. As the wealth of the richest city in the world was then at his mercy, the inconsiderable profit which such a mean traffic could produce, was not likely to occasion such an act of oppression; and it is much more probable that the true motive was to excite tumults among the poor, who were deprived of the means of subsistence by this factitious scarcity: but, whatever was the cause, such was the effect of the measure; the populace rose, and in the first intemperance of their fury killed many Persians, with some circumstances of extreme cruelty. These commotions furnished a

pretext to the conqueror for permitting a general massacre and plunder of the city. The carnage continued for seven hours, when the intercessions of the emperor and his nobles prevailed on Nader to call off his soldiers. According to Hanway, 110,000 inhabitants perished in this massacre; and the Persian historian relates that the enraged soldiery demolished every building by which they passed.

Whilst Nader continued at Delhi, he caused a silver coin to be struck, with which he paid his army; it bore the following inscription: "Nader, the most fortunate, and the king of kings, is the most powerful prince upon earth." On the reverse, "May God perpetuate his reign."

At the same time that the royal treasures and wealth were seized, each individual, who was supposed to possess any property, from the great lords down to the merchants, and even the common people, was obliged to deliver up a large portion of his fortune. In the midst of these exactions, Nasralla, the son of Nader, was married to a daughter of the Mogul emperor; on which occasion the face of joy which appeared, was rather adding insult to the distresses which the country felt, than any alleviation of such insupportable oppressions. In less than two months, the Persian officers had been so alert in extorting from the Indians their gold, silver, jewels, rich manufactures, and every other species of portable wealth, that the conqueror began to put his army in motion to return home, having previously

ously reinstated Mahommed on the throne of the Mogul empire; for which lenity he obtained a grant of all the territory to the westward of the Indus. The spoils which he brought away are supposed to amount to about ninety millions of pounds sterling. It is computed that the houses and goods destroyed by fire, and the fields that were laid waste, amounted to near twenty crores, or twenty-five millions. "We may reckon, upon the whole," says Hanway, "that this Persian ravager spoiled the Indians of above 120 millions of pounds; and not less than 200,000 of the natives perished, either in battle, by the massacre in the city, or in the villages: of which number 50,000 are supposed to have died by famine."

Whilst the army was repassing the mountains, on their way home, the tyrant had the hardiness to demand from every officer and soldier in his camp all the jewels which he had collected, as spoils, in the expedition. These he claimed as his peculiar right; and such was his unbounded authority, that this arbitrary requisition was acquiesced in, without raising any dissatisfaction among his troops.—The consequences which flowed from this expedition of Nader Shah into India, were not confined to the conquering and conquered kingdoms; but the revolution in the government of India, which arose out of this event, enabled the English company of merchants trading to Bengal, to take possession of the territorial government of that province, and to transfer the wealth which used to centre in Delhi

to the British isles, together with the spoils of the province!

Nader, in returning with his immense treasures into Persia, narrowly escaped death by the hands of an assassin, whom his son, Riza Kouli, had hired to perpetrate the deed; but the plot being detected, Riza, by order of his father, was deprived of sight, and afterward put to death. The discovery of his son's baseness seems to have made a deep and lasting impression on the father, whose soul was transcribed in that of the parricidious prince. The conqueror of India from henceforth gave the most unbounded scope to his natural disposition for cruelty and oppression; and the Persians, instead of experiencing a milder government, and more lenient imposts, in consequence of the wealth of India being transferred to their kingdom, were cruelly oppressed by taxes and requisitions, whilst the slightest indication of discontent was construed into treason; and the loss of substance was followed either by severe corporeal punishments, or the loss of life by the hands of the executioner. Had Nader died immediately after his triumphant entrance into Delhi, his exploits as a conqueror would have been as brilliant as any thing which had been achieved by man, whilst his acts of tyrannic severity might have been palliated by great and illustrious examples; but his conduct, after that period, marks his character with no other traits than those which distinguish the most cruel and insatiable tyrant. The Indian treasures were de-

 posited

posited in the castle of Kelat, by far the strongest fortress in the Persian territory.

We owe the knowledge of a remarkable circumstance in the life of this prince to Mr. Ives; who relates, that Nader meditated a marriage with the Czarina of Russia; the proposal, as might be supposed, was rejected, though in terms of guarded respect. *Voyage from England to India*, p. 219.—A splendid embassy was sent from Persia to that court, after the return of the king from his Indian expedition; and it was then, doubtless, that the treaty of marriage was proposed. The empress who then reigned was Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great.

Soon after Nader's return, he caused a translation of the four gospels to be made into Persic; it was executed with all the false ornaments which romantic fiction could supply: when this perverted specimen of the history of Jesus Christ was presented to the king of Persia, he decided very peremptorily on the merits of Christianity, although he had not been many years capable of reading the manuscript; and rewarded the translators in a manner very inadequate to the pains they had bestowed; but he declared his intentions were to institute a religion superior to any promulgated to mankind.—It could not be supposed that the tyrant of Persia and the spoiler of India could relish a religion, the founder of which declared that his kingdom was not of this world. The strong natural powers which Nader possessed, might possibly have assisted him very essentially in an attempt to

rival

rival the prophet of Mecca, if avarice, cruelty, and tyranny, had not at length entirely possessed his soul, and caused him to bear down every thing by dint of his authority, instead of soothing mankind, and conciliating the public voice. Had he still cultivated the insinuating blandishments which procured him popularity in his early career, he might have effected such things as would have for ever dignified his name; but his natural ferocity, which, in many instances, had been suppressed during the former part of his life, now burst forth, and marked the ruling passion in his breast; it narrowed his views, and made even his interest, as well as his ambition, hold a subordinate place; it sunk him into a detestable wretch, the scourge and terror of mankind; and rendered him odious even to those whom he most favoured.

Nader did not long amuse himself with the chimera of becoming the founder of a new religion; he presently resumed an occupation much better suited to his nature and his habits, by leading an army against the Lesgees or Leczies, a people inhabiting the mountainous country of Dagestan, who had defeated and slain Zoheireddoula, his brother, whilst the principal force of the kingdom was engaged in the Indian expedition; but in prosecuting this war, Nader had well nigh lost his whole army by famine, and was unable effectually to annoy the enemy. The Persian troops were no longer those bold, hardy, and disciplined warriors which Nader had formed; the spoils and manners of India had made them fond of

life

life, and unwilling to put it to the hazard. A fresh war with the Turks broke out in 1743, but from it Nader reaped no additional laurels. An impostor was now brought forward, named Saun, who pretended to be a younger son of Shah Hussein: the Turks called him Sefi, but he being defeated on the very spot where Nader had been elected king, the tyrant caused a pyramid of human heads, collected from the prisoners whom he had executed, to be built in memorial of his victory. Insurrections in different parts of Persia soon followed; but Nader at length gained such a signal victory over the Turks, near Erivan, as brought about a peace; and this man of blood, who had escaped numberless dangers in the field, at length died by assassination in his tent. Four Persian officers, whom he had doomed to death, are said to have done this deed. After bravely defending himself for some time, the merciless tyrant implored mercy; but his assassins were as obdurate as himself had been. He was slain on the 8th of June 1747, at the age of sixty years.

This sketch of the life of so extraordinary a man, may serve to convey a general idea of his character: it need only be added, that not a man in Persia could equal Nader in bodily strength; and his voice was so powerful, that it inspired his troops with boldness, and his enemies with dismay. The Persian writer of the life of Nader, translated by Sir William Jones, shews how entirely unacquainted he was with the personal qualities of his hero, by saying,

ing, "his voice, as a man who heard it at the siege of Bagdad informed one of my friends, was uncommonly clear and strong." *Life of Nader; page* 20.— Yet the translator says in his preface, that this Persian historian, who is somewhere called Mirza Mahadi, "attended his hero in many of his expeditions, and was an eye-witness of the actions which he describes." So palpable a contradiction could not be suffered to escape unnoticed, as the translator's name stamps a consequence on the work.

Persia, already ruined by a succession of tyrants, was now exposed to the no less severe oppressions of petty princes, by whom its little remains of strength were exhausted. At length the Indian treasures which had been deposited at Kelat, and had continued untouched during the life of Nader, were seized upon by Ahmet, a prince of Khorasan; who by their means obtained the sovereignty of an extensive country, including the eastern part of Persia, and the acquisitions of the Persian conqueror in India. The Georgians, under prince Heraclius, likewise becoming independent, grew formidable by their conquests and accessions of strength; whilst all the southern provinces, being at length brought under the control of Kerim Kan, enjoyed a state of tranquillity: and we learn from colonel Capper, who passed through Persia in the year 1778, that this prince had then transferred the seat of government to Schiras; and though he had effectually secured himself from the designs of every competitor, and

was

was possessed of an army of 60,000 men, yet he chose not to assume the title of king, but contented himself with the less invidious one of "Protector of Persia."

GOVERNMENT.] The Persian government was monarchical, and in every branch of it strictly despotic.

The usual title of the king was *shah*, or *shaw*, as it is pronounced, which signifies, "the disposer of kingdoms," and is the highest title known in Asia; it being equivalent to that of emperor in Europe. They also added to the king's titles those of sultan, and khan or cawn, which is the title of the Tartar sovereigns. His arms were a lion couchant, looking at the sun as it rises over his back.

The Persians readily obeyed all the commands of their prince without reserve; so that if the son was commanded to be his father's executioner, or the father the son's, it must be complied with. Yet they said, if he commanded any thing contrary to the peculiar tenets of their religion, they were under no obligation to obey him. Several writers mention a minister in the Persian court, whom the king commanded to drink with him; but he excused himself by saying, he had been a pilgrimage to Mecca, and could not drink wine without violating the laws of their religion: to which the king replied, "Thousands have gone on pilgrimage to Mecca, and yet drink wine; drink therefore when thy sovereign commands thee." But the minister still refusing,

fuſing, the king not only abuſed him in the groſſeſt manner, but made the ſervants throw the wine into his face, and pour it by force into his mouth; then threatened him with immediate death: to which the other returned, "That he had a right to his life, but not to his religion; and he choſe rather to die than drink. The king then diſmiſſed him from his employments; but he was ſoon after reſtored, and ſeemed to be doubly honoured by the king, for the reſolution he had ſhewn in refuſing to violate his conſcience.

A prince of a cruel diſpoſition might here give full ſcope to his inhumanity, and wantonly ſport with the lives he is under the moſt ſacred obligations to protect: he might enjoy the infernal ſatisfaction of making the torments of the guilty a ſubject of mirth; and of wantonly ſacrificing the innocent to his avarice, his humour, or his luſt. Hanway gives ſeveral inſtances of the cruelty of Nader that muſt ſhock every benevolent mind. A perſon who had collected taxes, was complained of by the peaſants, of whom it appeared he had exacted more than he had accounted for to that prince: this was a capital crime, and he was therefore condemned to ſuffer death. But Nader, as if he had recollected ſomething particular of this perſon, cried, "I underſtand you can dance well; dance, and I will ſave your life." The man immediately began to dance, doubtleſs with ſome tranſports of joy; but the ſhah ordered the executioner to ſtrike him on the legs, which

which preventing his performance, the tyrant cried, "The rascal does not dance well; kill him."

The same worthy author mentions many other instances of the cruelty with which that prince abused his despotic power, among which the following must serve here. The shah having appointed a certain captain-general as governor of a province, imposed on it an exorbitant tax, to be levied in six months. At the expiration of the time, the governor was sent for to the camp, and ordered to produce the account. He did so, but it only amounted to half the sum demanded. The shah called him a rascal, and, telling him that he had taken the other half of the money, ordered him to be bastinadoed to death. His estate was then confiscated, but the value of all his effects fell very short of the sum demanded. The servants of the deceased being then ordered to come into the shah's presence, he inquired of them if any thing was left belonging to their master: to which they answered, "Only a dog." He then commanded the dog to be brought before him, and observed, That he appeared much honester than his master had been; however, he should be led through the camp, from tent to tent, and beaten with sticks, and wherever he expired, the master of such tent should pay the deficient sum. Accordingly the dog was successively carried to the tents of the ministers, who, hearing the case, immediately gave sums of money, according to their abilities, to procure the dog's removal; by

by which means the whole ſum the ſhah demanded was paid in the ſpace of a few hours.

By the laws of Perſia, the crown was hereditary, but the females were excluded: however, the ſon of a daughter might inherit, though his mother could not. It was alſo a law in Perſia, that no blind man ſhould be raiſed to the throne. Hence, as thoſe males that proceed from the female branches were as capable of ſucceeding as thoſe that ſpring from the males, that horrid policy of putting out the eyes of all that had the misfortune to be allied to the crown, was executed upon every male of the royal family, whether they proceeded from ſons or daughters: and, as there were no common executioners in Perſia, the orders for putting out the eyes of the royal infants were executed by any one the king choſe. They were even not contented, as formerly, with extinguiſhing the ſight by holding a hot iron to the eye, but the very eye-balls were ſcooped out with the point of a knife or dagger.

The princes of the royal blood were called Mirza, as, Ibrahim Mirza, or Sophi Mirza; the word Mirza ſignifying the ſon of a prince.

In the haram were three ranks of women, the princeſſes who were born there, thoſe by whom the ſhah had any children, and thoſe whom he had never taken to his embraces; beſide theſe, there were a great number of others, who had the common name of ſlaves, and were employed in ſervile offices. When the ſhah died, the ladies he had converſed with

with as wives were shut up in a quarter by themselves, and none of them permitted to stir out as long as they lived, except the mother of the succeeding prince, who had generally an almost sovereign authority within the limits of the haram.

The eunuchs belonging to the king's palaces generally amounted to three or four thousand. Men of the first rank had usually half a dozen in their houses, and those of inferior quality two or three. The eunuchs were usually so made when they were between seven and ten years of age; for few of them survive the operation if it be deferred till they are fifteen.

REVENUES.] All the lands of the kingdom were divided into four kinds: the first, those of the state; the second, the king's domain lands; the third, the lands of the church; and the fourth, those that belonged to private persons. Under one or other of these classes all the cultivated lands were included; but these made but a small part of the kingdom, of which more than ten parts to one were desert and uninhabited.

The king had also the seventh fleece, and the seventh of the breed of the cattle in all the lands not appropriated to his use, which was a great addition to the revenue; for the shepherds in Persia possessed large flocks and herds, on which they constantly attended, living in tents, and removing from place to place as they met with pasture.

In

In every province was an officer, named the chief of the ſhepherds, who took the ſeventh of the ſheep, aſſes, mules, camels, and goats; but as to horſes, he is ſaid to have had every third colt; and of ſilk and cotton, one third of all that was produced throughout the kingdom.

Minerals and precious ſtones belonged ſolely to the king; and the money raiſed by the waters being let into every perſon's field and gardens, was another conſiderable part of the revenue. All who were not of the religion of the country, whether natives or foreigners, paid the value of a ducat a head. Every ſhop of the working trades paid tenpence, and the reſt of the ſhops twenty-pence each.

The cuſtoms and port duties were very inconſiderable, there being no port of conſequence, except Gambroon. As for the merchandize carried into Perſia, or out of it, by land, that only paid a ſmall ſum for every camel's load, and in proportion for every mule or ox, without examining what were contained in the packs.

A very conſiderable part of the revenue aroſe from the confiſcated eſtates, and the preſents made by the great lords, the governors of provinces, and other perſons, particularly on New Year's day, when they made preſents to the king of every thing eſteemed rich and valuable, or that might contribute to the uſe, the ornament, or the pleaſures of life; but, for more than

than half a century past, the principal revenues of the shah have arisen from the most cruel oppressions; the people in the greatest part of the kingdom have been deprived of their whole substance by the tyranny of their princes, and the insatiable avarice of their governors.

LAWS.] The laws of the Persians are blended with their religion, agreeably to the grand principle of the Mahometans, that the same person ought to bear the spiritual and temporal swords, and be both king and high-priest: that he should command in war and administer justice, as well as explain the articles of faith, and regulate their ecclesiastical discipline; and with this power both Mahomet and his successors the caliphs were invested during the first five centuries. The Persian doctors maintain, that the civil magistrate ought to have no farther concern in the administration of justice, than in executing the sentences of the priest. But this was far from being the case in latter times, the civil power having in a great measure swallowed up that which anciently belonged to the ecclesiastical.

The principal book of laws was the Koran; beside which they had a few other religious writings, which they consulted for the decisions to be made by the courts. There seems indeed but little occasion to consult them, where either the king or the governors of provinces sit in judgment; for their determinations are entirely arbitrary, and they pay no regard either to the Koran or any other books.

Were

Were the Mahometan laws, with the interpretation put upon them by the Imams, strictly observed, Christians would be unable to live in Persia, by their being daily plundered and abused, in pursuance of some precept or passage in the Koran; but both the priests and the people were become more moderate, and had less of a persecuting spirit half a century ago than formerly; and the temporal courts took care that these laws were seldom put in execution.

There were no public halls erected for trying causes; but every magistrate heard them in his own divan, or some convenient room in his garden; where he had no other assistant but his clerk, who understood the law; and as there were no pleadings in writing after the first petition, abundance of time was saved, and a sentence soon obtained.

The temporal courts usually consisted of three persons: these were, the president of the divan, the governor of the city, and the nazir; who decided all criminal cases. As there were no public prisons, there were neither sheriffs nor jailors, but every magistrate confined the criminal in some part of his own house till he was brought to trial, which was generally within twenty-four hours after he was taken; and sentence was no sooner passed than it was executed, the judge's servants performing the offices both of jailors and executioners.

The condemnation of a malefactor in Persia was distinguished by very little ceremony, nor was the execution attended with pomp. He was generally conducted

conducted to a field or open place near the residence of the judge, and the executioner causing him to kneel, the delinquent pronounced his creed, "There is but one God, Mahomet is his prophet, and Ali his friend;" and then, if he was to be beheaded, his head was to be taken off with the motion of a sabre in a thrusting cut, which in drawing it back completes the operation.

In cases of rebellion, the late princes of Persia have been entire strangers to humanity, and, not satisfied with punishing the principals, most, if not all those who were taken in arms, lost their eyes or their heads.

Criminals of state were also sentenced to wear, for a determinate time, a heavy wooden collar about their neck, to which one of their hands was frequently fastened.

If a person had the misfortune to kill another, and the fact was proved before the judges, the offender was not punished by the court, but delivered up to the relations of the deceased, for them to put him to death in what manner they pleased. In such a case all the relations and friends of the deceased assembled, and with loud cries demanded the blood of him who had murdered their kinsman; which the magistrate seldom failed to promise them. But sometimes the murderer, by his presents to the judge, and to the relations of the deceased, procured his pardon. When the relations would be satisfied with nothing less than his life, the judge thus addressed

them: "I deliver you the murderer according to "law; make yourſelves ſatisfaction with his blood "for the blood that he has ſpilt; but remember "that God is merciful." The judge's ſervants were then ordered to follow the directions of the proſecutors, and guard the criminal to what place they required; and they followed the criminal, curſing, beating, and abuſing him all the way. When he came to the place appointed, the miſerable wretch was delivered to the relations, who ſometimes inflicted on him the moſt cruel tortures they could invent; and it is ſaid that the women, who ſcarce ever appeared abroad on any other occaſion, would come and imbrue their hands in his blood.

Ordinary crimes, where the parties were men of ſubſtance, were uſually puniſhed with fines; but where they were poor, they baſtinadoed them on the ſoles of their feet, giving them a certain number of blows, not under thirty, nor exceeding three hundred.

Pick-pockets and pilferers were marked with a hot iron in the forehead, and houſebreakers had their right hand cut off. The ſame puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe who counterfeited the coin, for the firſt offence; but for the ſecond, their bellies were ripped open. They had ſome other puniſhments for capital crimes, as, impaling, ſetting them up to the chin in the earth, precipitating a criminal from a high tower, cutting off the hands and feet, and leaving the poor wretch in that condition till he expired.

They

They sometimes used tortures to extort a confession, as by pinching off the flesh with red hot pincers: but the most usual way of examining offenders, was while they are beating the soles of their feet.

Bakers and victuallers have been sometimes baked and roasted alive for cheating in their weights, and raising provisions to an exorbitant price: but this was only in time of great scarcity; the usual punishment in these cases is a fine, or the bastinado.

RELIGION of the PERSIANS.] The established religion of Persia acknowledges the Koran to be the great law of the prophet Mahomet, in as full a manner as it is received among the Turks; but this their common faith has not been influential in producing harmony and concord; for the private interests and views of individuals soon gave rise to such a schism, as rendered Mahomedans as rancorous and fierce against each other, as the professors of the Christian faith have been, when the purity of their religion has been sullied by the dogmas of assuming men.

Ali was Mahomet's brother's son, and married to Fatima, the favourite daughter of the prophet. Hence the Persians infer his right to the succession, which was notwithstanding invaded by his uncles Abubeker, Omar, and Osman, the brothers of Mahomet, whose usurpation, both as kings and prophets, is approved by the Turks. [See a particular account of the rise, progress, and establishment of

 Mahomedanism,

Mahomedanifm, in the firft volume of this work.] Ali at length fucceeded; and the difpute might have been loft in oblivion, had he not made different explications of the Koran. This, however, produced no extraordinary effects till the fourteenth century, when Sheffie, a man of an exemplary life, who pretended to a regular defcent from Ali, began to teach and expound the Mahomedan law, and the doctrine of Ali's followers, in preference to the precepts taught by the Turkifh doctors. This reviving the remembrance of the injury done to Ali by his uncles, the Perfians began to curfe them in their public prayers, and changed the form of the Mahomedan creed, by giving Ali the title of the friend of God. Thefe two fects being thus divided, thofe who maintained the fucceffion of Abubeker, Omar, and Ofman, called themfelves Sunnis, while the followers of Ali took the name of Schias.

The Perfians acknowledge that the Mofaic was the true religion before Chrift, whom they alfo believe to be a true prophet and teacher fent from God; but that the religion he taught was contained in a book, which, at Mahomet's coming, was taken by the angel Gabriel into heaven, and the Koran brought down in its ftead. They alfo, like the other Mahometans, fay, that Jefus Chrift did not die upon the crofs, but, as he was going to his crucifixion, he was invifibly tranflated to heaven; and that Judas being miraculoufly brought thither in his place, his face appeared like that of Chrift, and he was cruci-

fied

fied in his ſtead. Thus they confeſs the truth of our Saviour's miſſion, but mingle almoſt every thing relating to him with extravagant fictions.—The Mahomedans, ſays Sir William Jones, whatever may be ſaid to the contrary, are certainly a ſect of Chriſtians, if indeed they deſerve the name, while they follow the impious hereſy of Arius. *Deſcription of Aſia*, p. xxxiv.—So great is the abhorrence which this learned man entertains of the doctrine which aſſerts the unity of God!

The Mahomedans have two articles of faith, and five of practice. That there is no other God but God, and that Mahomet is his prophet; that men ought to obſerve bodily purifications; pray to God at the appointed times; give alms to the poor; faſt all the month of Ramezan, and, if poſſible, go in pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca. To theſe the Perſians add an eighth article, which is, that Ali is the friend of God.

They imagine that as ſoon as the deceaſed is laid in his tomb, the grave cloſed, and the company retired, the departed ſoul re-enters the body, and is viſited by two black angels, terrible to behold, the one called Munkir, and the other Nekir, who oblige the perſon to ſit upright, and queſtion him concerning the unity of God, the miſſion of Mahomet, and the good or evil he has performed, which they record in a book to be opened at the general judgment: that in the meanwhile the ſouls of the faith-

 ful

ful are filled with tranſports of joy; while the wicked endure the dreadful pangs of remorſe. They ſay, the ſoul wanders about till the body is interred; but that it has no ſooner undergone the firſt examination in the ſepulchre, than it enters an aërial body, in which it continues till the general reſurrection, when it will be reunited to its earthly frame.

After the final judgment they maintain, that all men muſt paſs over a certain bridge no wider than a razor's edge; that unbelievers and the wicked will infallibly fall, in their paſſage, into hell; but that the faithful ſhall paſs the bridge ſwifter than a bird flies through the air, and enter into paradiſe.

"The bleſſed," ſay they, "after they have taſted of the fountain of living waters, ſhall ſeat themſelves on the banks of the river of delight, which is ſhaded by a tree ſo immenſely large, that was a man to ride poſt fifty thouſand years, he would not paſs the extent of one of its leaves: that Mahomet and Ali ſhall ſerve the happy with the water of this delicious river, mounted on the Pay Duldul, an animal that has the head of a woman, the feet of a ſtag, and the hinder part of a tyger; that they will be attended by innumerable companies of fair celeſtial beauties, with large black eyes, (as the word Houri literally ſignifies in Arabic) created on purpoſe for the enjoyment of the elect." They alſo maintain, that they ſhall enjoy the free uſe of theſe voluptuous pleaſures, without being capable of ſinning,

ning, becaufe nothing is forbidden; nor fhall they there experience the effects of fatiety, but their life, and health, and vigour, will be everlafting.

There are, however, fome Perfian doctors, who confider all the promifes and threatenings in the Koran in a fpiritual and allegorical fenfe, and fay, that thefe things are thus delivered, only to accommodate them to the grofs ideas of the people; but that the happinefs of paradife really confifts in being employed about objects proper for the foul, as, in the knowledge of the fciences, and the fublime operations of the underftanding; and that the body fhall have pleafures fuitable to its nature, and enjoy all the delights of which it is capable; but not, as here upon earth, by meat and drink, and fenfual indulgences: that hell fhall confift in regret and defpair for the lofs of paradife, while the body will be afflicted with the moft excruciating torments, but after what manner they do not pretend to defcribe.

They diftinguifh uncleannefs into two kinds; one of which they efteem finful, from its being abfolutely forbidden by their law, as, to drink wine and ftrong drink, to eat pork, &c.; while the other only communicates a defilement that renders a perfon unfit to perform certain acts of religion, as to pray to God, or read the Koran, while he continues in this ftate of uncleannefs.

The bigotted Perfians lay a greater ftrefs upon the ceremonial part of their law, than on the moral;

 for

for their washings and purifications must be observed, whatever else they omit. They have the maxim of their prophet frequently in their mouths, that "religion is founded in purity, and half of it "consists in a man's keeping himself undefiled." Their prayers are held to be vain and criminal when offered up with unwashed hands; and it is the highest prophanation to touch the Koran in such a state. There are, indeed, such a variety of defilements, that though they are obliged to pray five times a day, it is almost impossible to prevent their being polluted between one prayer and another..

As the Persians, like the astronomers of Europe, reckon their day from twelve at noon to twelve the next day, the first hour of prayer is exactly when the sun is in the meridian; the second is in the evening; the third when it is so dark that colours cannot be distinguished; the fourth is to be made on lying down to sleep; and the fifth in the morning, and may be performed at any time between the disappearing of the stars and noon.

In most Mahomedan countries, the times of prayer are proclaimed by the officers of the mosques from their steeples; but in Persia those officers declare the time of prayer from the top of the mosques. Upon common days no more than one or two of these criers are employed; but upon festivals there are sometimes ten or a dozen of them, particularly on a Friday, which is their sabbath; and it can scarcely be conceived how far their voices are heard. They

begin

begin with these words, "O God, most great!" which they repeat four times, turning to the four winds; then they add, "The testimony we render "to God is, that there is no other God but God, "Mahomet is his prophet, and Ali his friend." This they also repeat four times as above, and then say, "Arise and pray, perform that most excellent duty which Mahomet and Ali, the most perfect of created beings, have commanded." If it be at midnight, which is one of their times for offering up prayers of pererogation, or in the morning, they add, "Awake out of your sleep;" and, having repeated the words, "O God, most great!" four times, sing some verses of the Koran, and then conclude with "Omar be accursed." When the people hear these criers, they arise up and go to prayers in their houses, or wherever they think fit.

In performing their devotions, they have several ceremonies, respecting their dress, purifications, gestures, and religious trinkets, which they must by no means omit.

Their prayers are of considerable length, and they seem to perform their devotions with inconceivable reverence and attention; nothing can divert them from what they are about; their eyes remain fixed, and every gesture is exceedingly just, and suitable to the occasion. In short, they perform this duty with greater reverence and attention than most Christians. "Though the Persians," says Hanway, "are become extremely immoral, yet they give one proof of

of religion vastly superior to the Christians: for I never could observe that they mentioned the name of the Supreme Being, except upon solemn occasions, or at least in a respectful manner."

In all their religious books and discourses, charity is warmly recommended, without which their prayers are held to be vain and ineffectual. They dispose of their alms chiefly in public buildings, such as, erecting caravanseras, bridges, causeways, cisterns, receptacles of water, mosques, colleges, and bagnios.

They have no set time for circumcising their children: some maintain that it ought to be at thirteen years of age, because Ishmael was circumcised at that age; but they generally perform it when the child is four or five years old, on account of its being less painful and hazardous than when they are older. Some barber performs the operation, and applies styptics and astringents to stop the bleeding.

The Persians have several fasts, the most remarkable of which is that named Ramezan, from the name of the month in which it is held, and which lasts from the beginning to the end of it.

The Persians are also required once in their lives to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, the place of Mahomet's birth, where is a little chapel, called the house of God, which, according to tradition, was built by Abraham, and to which all the Mahomedans pay an extraordinary veneration. It has been the policy of the Persian kings, in later times, to transfer

transfer their pilgrimage from Mecca to Meſched; as was obſerved in the hiſtory of Perſia.

The principal religious feſtivals of the Perſians are thoſe in commemoration of Abraham ſacrificing his ſon, and that of the martrydom of the two Imans, Hoſſein, and Haſſein. Thoſe who keep the feaſt of the ſacrifice riſe early in the morning, and ride out of the city at break of day, in order to ſacrifice a ſheep or goat, after which they cauſe ſeveral to be killed in their own houſes, and diſtribute them among the poor. In every great town there is alſo a general ſacrifice of a camel, at which, it is ſaid, the king himſelf uſed to aſſiſt, when at Iſpahan.

The next great feſtival, which, in many reſpects, has the appearance of a faſt, is in memory of the death, or martrydom, as they term it, of their patriarch Hoſſein, who was ſlain in a battle with the cailiff of Damaſcus, who contended with him for the empire, in the ſixty-firſt year of the Hegira. They ſay, that after he had loſt the battle, he retreated with his broken troops into a deſert near Babylon; but, when he had been purſued fourteen days, was overtaken by his enemies, and died bravely fighting and covered with wounds. This ſolemnity continues ten days, during which no trumpets or muſical inſtruments are ſounded, and thoſe who obſerve it ſtrictly neither ſhave nor go to the bagnio.

Haſſein was the eldeſt brother of Hoſſein, and was ſlain in the ſame war. What the people endeavour chiefly to expreſs is the heat and thirſt with which

which Hoſſein was afflicted in the deſert, which, they ſay, was ſo great, that his tongue hung out of his mouth. If they meet either a Pagan or a Chriſtian, they cry, Curſed be Omar! to which the other, if he would not be inſulted, muſt reply by repeating the ſame words.

This ſolemnity ſeems ſolely intended to keep up, from political views, an inveterate hatred toward the Turks, whom they eſteem their inveterate and moſt formidable enemies.

As the religion of the Perſians leads them to conceive the moſt wild and extravagant ideas of the agency of inviſible beings, theſe have an influence on their conduct in private life, cauſing the wildeſt ſuperſtition to tincture all their actions; and, by ſtrongly influencing their hopes and fears, frequently prevents their taking thoſe rational meaſures which alone can enable them to eſcape the misfortunes they dread. Hence, inſtead of having recourſe to the dictates of reaſon, and the meaſures ſuggeſted by prudence, they have recourſe to charms, and amulets, formed of inſcriptions on paper, and ſometimes on precious ſtones: thus, certain paſſages of the Koran, worn in a little bag about the neck, are eſteemed a ſovereign remedy againſt diſeaſes and enchantments. Sneezing is held a moſt happy omen, eſpecially when often repeated; the hands with the fingers interchanged, and ſome particular poſture of the body, are eſteemed full of magic power; and, if uſed maliciouſly, of dangerous conſequence. Hanway mentions an officer whom

whom he travelled with, and who was going to the ſhah to anſwer for his conduct, who endeavoured to learn by heart a prayer compoſed by Hoſſein, which, if repeated right in the preſence of the king, he imagined would divert his wrath; but if falſely, increaſe it. This officer had another ſpell which he propoſed to uſe; this was the repetition of ten particular letters in the alphabet, as he entered the royal tent, cloſing a finger at each, and keeping the firſt claſped till he came before the throne, when he was ſuddenly to open his hands, and by the diſcharge of this magic artillery, to ſubdue the king's wrath. As the minds of the Perſians are tainted with an extravagant fondneſs for the marvellous, they imagine that the meteors, which reſemble falling ſtars, and are vulgarly called ſo, are the blows of the angels on the heads of the devils who would pry into the ſecrets of paradiſe. Cats are held in great eſteem, but dogs in abomination; ſo that, though they uſe them ſometimes at their diverſions, dogs are never permitted to come into any room.

In treating of Hindoſtan, an account was given of the Parſees of India, who were once driven from Perſia, and are of the ſame religion as the Gebers, or Gaurs, only differing in ſome points of ſmaller moment. They are both deſcended from the ancient Perſians, and both are of the religion of the ancient

cient Magi, the followers of Zoroafter. This philofopher, known to the orientalifts by the names of Zerdufht, or Zeratufht, lived in the reign of Kifhktafp, whom the Greeks called Darius the fon of Hyftafpes, about five hundred years before Chrift: he publifhed a moral work, called Zend, or "the Book of Life," which was followed by his Pazend, or a further confirmation of his doctrine, as the Perfian word implies. Both thefe pieces were afterward explained in a commentary intitled Vafta, or Avafta; they inculcated the doctrine of two principles, and recommended the worfhip of the good principle under the allegory of light, which they oppofed to the bad, whofe emblem was darknefs. The king was much inclined to this doctrine, and raifed a number of temples to the fun, the fountain of light; which the people, as ufual, conceived in a grofs and literal fenfe, and began to adore the effect inftead of the caufe, and the figure inftead of the archetype. The priefts took the hint, and the fun, or Mihra, became really to them, what our alchymifts abfurdly confider it, a powerful elixir, which transformed their bafe metals into gold. *Sir William Jones's Short Hiftory of Perfia, page* 51.—Confucus, or Cumfucu, as the miffionaries write his true name, the contemporary with this fingular man, reformed and polifhed the people of China; and, not many years before him, Solon made admirable laws for the Athenians; fo that the latter end of the fifth,

and

and the beginning of the sixth century, may be called the age of philosophers and law-givers.

But what is most remarkable with respect to these people, is commonly called the everlasting fire; a phænomenon of a very extraordinary nature, about ten English miles from Baku, a city situated in the north of Persia, by an excellent haven of the Caspian sea. This object of their devotion is on a dry rocky soil, where there are several ancient temples built with stone, supposed to have all been dedicated to fire, most of them arched, and only ten or fifteen feet high; among which is a temple, in which the Gebers still preserve the sacred flame, which they pretend has continued burning ever since the flood; and they believe it will last till the end of the world. It rises from the end of a large hollow cane, which is stuck in the ground, in a blue flame, in colour and gentleness not unlike a lamp that burns with spirits, but seemingly more pure. Here are generally forty or fifty poor devotees, who come hither in pilgrimage.

At a small distance from this temple is a cleft of a rock, in which is an horizontal gap two feet from the ground, near six long, and about three broad, from which rises a constant flame, of the colour and nature of that just described. In calm weather it burns low, but when the wind blows, it sometimes rises eight feet high; and yet the flame cannot be perceived to make any impression on the rock. The

Gebers

Gebers here alſo pay their adorations, and ſay, that if theſe fires are ſtopped in one place, they will riſe in another.

What appears ſtill more extraordinary, there is undoubted proof that theſe fires conſtantly burn without any ſupply being added by the people to feed the flame: for Hanway obſerves, that for above two miles round this place, the earth has this ſurpriſing property, that by taking up two or three inches from the ſurface, and applying a live coal, the part ſo uncovered takes fire almoſt before the coal touches the earth: the flames heat the earth without conſuming it, or affecting what is near it. Yet this earth, carried to another place, does not produce the ſame effect. If a cane, or even a paper tube, be ſet about two inches in the ground, and cloſed with earth below, on touching the top of it with a live coal, and blowing upon it, a flame inſtantly iſſues, without injuring either the cane or the paper, provided the edges be covered with clay. This method they uſe for light in their houſes, which have only the earth for their floor: three or four of theſe lighted canes will boil a pot, and thus they dreſs their proviſions. The flame may be extinguiſhed in the ſame manner as that of ſpirits of wine. The ground is dry and ſtony, and the more ſtony any particular part is, the ſtronger and clearer is the flame; it has a ſulphuerous ſmell, like *naptha*; but it is not very offenſive.

Since the greateſt part of the Gebers were driven

out

out of Persia by Shah Abas; there have been few of them who have openly professed their religion in that kingdom; there is, however, a village near Ispahan inhabited by them, from whom it receives the name of Guebarabad.

There is also a sect in Persia, named Souffees, who, though they outwardly conform, for the sake of peace, to the Mahomedan religion, have a system of doctrines that contains the purest mysticism, which contradicting no religion, can put on the forms of all. Their principal aim is to form within themselves a mental elysium, by an extinction of all the passions in sacrifice to God. In this state of quietism they pretend to feel a certain pleasure, like that felt by the body, when, after its being overheated, it is cooled by a refreshing breeze. They recommend three points to be observed in the conduct of social life; these are, a grateful return to friendship, and for benefits received; to win all hearts by generosity; and never to depart from sweetness of temper, truth, and candour.

There are also another people in Persia, whose religion seems compounded of Christianity, Judaism, and Mahomedanism. These are called "Christians of St. John," and sometimes "Sabean Christians." They dwell near the Persian gulf, where there are said to be many thousand families of them. St. John Baptist is their great saint; and it is said they acknowledge Christ in no other light

 than

than as a prophet, and yet pay an idolatrous worſhip to the croſs. They are ſaid to have loſt their ancient ſacred books, and to have only one at preſent which is filled with Jewiſh and Mahomedan legends, and contains their doctrines and myſteries.

There are alſo in Perſia a number of the Armenian and Georgian Chriſtians; but the latter are not met with out of Georgia, the ancient Iberia.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

ASIATIC ISLANDS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

RHODES.

THIS iſland is ſituated between thirty-ſix and thirty-ſeven degrees of N. latitude, about two hundred and fifty miles to the weſtward of Cyprus. It is about forty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, and formerly had the names of Ethræa, Aſteria, Corymbia, and ſome others.

This iſland was ſubject to the Greeks, from whom it was taken by the Saracens; but in 1309 the knights hoſpitallers of Jeruſalem took it from them and held it above two hundred years, during which time they reſiſted the whole Turkiſh power: but at laſt it was taken by the Turks under Soliman II. in 1522. It is ſaid the treachery of Andrea d'Amaral, chancellor of the order, induced the Turks to attack the place; for being diſguſted at not being choſen grand-maſter, he informed them of the

 weakneſs

weakneſs of the iſland, by a letter ſhot to them on an arrow.

This memorable ſiege was undertaken by Solyman the Magnificent, after he had taken Belgrade from the Hungarians. He attacked this iſland with an army of 200,000 men, which were conveyed thither by a fleet of 400 ſail. The troops on the iſland conſiſted of 5000 ſoldiers, and 600 knights; Villiers de L'Iſle Adam, the grand-maſter, commanded, and proved himſelf worthy of ſo great truſt. He in vain ſolicited aid from the Chriſtian powers: the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. were at that time ſo deeply engaged in their own animoſities and contentions, as to exclude all attention to even the moſt eſſential general intereſts of Chriſtendom; and the Roman pontiff, Adrian, exerted all his influence in vain for the relief of a ſociety in the higheſt degree reſpected by every Chriſtian power. The grand-maſter, thus unaided, with ſignal courage and conduct continued to defend the town, which was a place of great ſtrength, during a vigorous ſiege of ſix months; repelling every aſſault ſo long as his poſts continued defenſible, but the town being laid in ruins, he obtained honourable terms from his generous enemy, who admired ſuch uncommon valour and inflexibility. "Charles and Francis," ſays Dr. Robertſon, "aſhamed of having occaſioned ſuch a loſs to Chriſtendom, by their ambitious conteſts, endeavoured to throw the blame of it on each other, while all Europe, with greater

greater justice, imputed it equally to both. The emperor, by way of reparation, granted the knights of St. John the small island of Malta, in which they fixed their residence; retaining, though with less power and splendour, their ancient spirit and implacable enmity to the infidels." *History of Charles V. vol. ii. p.* 201.

In ancient times this island is supposed to have possessed the famous brazen Colossus, one of the seven wonders of the world, which was so large that a ship under sail might pass between its legs. This statue, which was of such an enormous size that its stride measured fifty fathoms, or three hundred yards, represented Apollo, and was cast entirely of brass by an artist named Charles, of Lyndus, a town in the isle of Rhodes, who was twelve years in constructing it; it was seventy cubits high, and every part being in proportion, the thumb was as thick as a man could grasp in his arms; every finger was of the size of an ordinary statue, and for the direction of vessels into the harbour at night, it held a light-house in its right hand. This prodigious statue was thrown down by an earthquake fifty or threescore years after its erection, and is said to have laid on the ground till the Saracens made themselves masters of Rhodes, who having beaten it to pieces, fourteen hundred and sixty-one years after it was made, sold it to a Jew; who, having carried it by sea to Alexandria, in 954, there loaded nine hundred camels with the metal. But after all, Du Mont has

 urged

urged ſtrong reaſons for ſuppoſing the ſtory to be fabulous; other authors have been of the ſame opinion: indeed the extravagant dimenſions aſcribed to it, and ſuch a quantity of braſs being ſuffered to lie on the ground for ſo many ages, would tempt the moſt credulous to doubt the truth of the relation.

Part of the city ſtands on a riſing hill; and the whole is three miles in circumference.

CYPRUS.

The iſland of Cyprus has been famous in all ages for the fertility of its ſoil, the excellence of its climate, and the advantages of its ſituation. It lies between thirty-four and thirty-ſix degrees of N. latitude, and between thirty-three and thirty-five degrees eight minutes E. longitude. It is ſixty-nine miles S. of the coaſt of Caramania, or Cilicia, and thirty-ſix W. of the coaſt of Syria. It is about one hundred and fifty miles in length, and ſeventy in breadth in the broadeſt part.

In ancient times it was conſecrated to Venus, who was ſtyled by the poets "the Cyprian goddeſs," probably from the wantonneſs of its inhabitants.

This iſland was anciently governed by kings, and it had nine of them when it was reduced by Cyrus, who rendered them his tributaries. Long after this the iſland was conquered by Alexander the Great, and upon the diviſion of his empire, it fell to the

the ſhare of Ptolemy king of Egypt, under whoſe ſucceſſors it remained, till the Romans, without any colour for invading it, ſent Portius Cato to reduce it under their power, which he accompliſhed, and brought back to Rome the ſpoils of the iſland, amounting to ſeven thouſand talents. After the diviſion of the Roman empire, it became ſubject to the Greeks; from whom it was taken by the Saracens, but was recovered from them, and governed by dukes or princes. In 1191 it was conquered by Richard I. king of England, who putting in here for freſh water, on his voyage to the Holy Land, met with a very hoſpitable reception; in return for which he baſely ſubdued the iſland, and transferred the poſſeſſion of it to Guy Luſignan, the titular king of Jeruſalem, whoſe family held it for many generations. Under theſe princes it was divided into twelve counties, containing forty-eight great towns, and upward of eight hundred villages. The Venetians became maſters of it in 1473, and held it almoſt an hundred years; but Selim II. ſon of Solyman the Magnificent, ſoon after his father's death, ſent his general Muſtapha againſt this iſland. All the aſſiſtance which the pope and the king of Spain could render the Venetians, was not ſufficient to ſave it. Nicolia, the capital, was taken by ſtorm, the city of Tramagoſta alone held out for ſome time, but at length Bragadino, the governor, was compelled to capitulate. Muſtapha, untaught by the con-

duct of his former master toward the knights of Rhodes, and even in violation of the terms he had agreed upon, caused the Venetian governor to be flayed alive; and either reduced to slavery or put to death the whole garrison. The lives of 100,000 Turks are said to have been the price paid for this conquest.

In the year 1573 the Venetians concluded a separate peace with Selim II. by which they agreed that he should retain this island.

CHIOS, or SCIO, called by the Turks SAKI SADUCI.

This island shared in the calamities which attended the destruction of the Greek empire. In the year 1093, when robbers and pirates were in possession of several considerable places, Tzachas, a Turkish malcontent, took the city. The Greek admiral endeavoured to reduce it for the emperor Alexis, and made a breach in the wall, when the Turk came to its relief from Smyrna with a fleet and eight thousand men, but soon after abandoned it in the night. In 1306 this was one of the islands which suffered from the exactions of the grand duke Roger, general of the Roman armies. The city was then seized by the Turks, who came before it with thirty ships, and put the inhabitants to the sword. In 1346 some gallies were fitted out by thirty noble Genoese, which took the city. A fleet of sixty vessels was sent by

by the Sultan in 1394 to burn it and the towns adjacent, and to ravage the islands and sea-coast. Scio experienced much calamity; but, if it be compared with the sufferings of some other places, in those times of rapine and violence, fortune will seem to have concurred with the partiality of nature, and to have distinguished this as a favoured island.

The Genoese continued in possession of Chios about two hundred and forty years. They were deprived of it in 1566, during the siege of Malta by the Turkish admiral, who garrisoned it for sultan Solyman; but the Chiots in general were still indulged with numerous and extraordinary privileges. They consisted of two parties, differing in their religious tenets; one being of the Greek persuasion, which acknowledged the patriarch of Constantinople as their head; the other of the Latin, or Papists, which enjoyed a free toleration under the Turks, their priests celebrating mass as in Christendom, bearing the sacraments to the sick, going in solemn procession, habited, beneath canopies, with censers in their hands, to the year 1694. The Venetians then attacked and took the castle; but abandoned it on a defeat of their fleet near the Spalmadore islands, which lie in the channel between Scio and the continent. The Latins, who had assisted them, dreaded the punishment which their ingratitude deserved; and the principal families, with the bishop, fled and settled in the Morea. The Turks

seized

ſeized the churches, aboliſhed the Genoeſe dreſs, and impoſed on their vaſſals badges of their ſubjection; obliging them, among other articles, to alight from their horſes at the city-gate, on the approach of any, even the meaneſt muſſulman.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

E G Y P T.

THE Egyptians, like the Chinese, and many other of the eastern nations, maintain that they had a race of kings, the first of whom reigned many thousand years before the flood. However, it is generally agreed, that the princes of the line of the Pharaohs sat on the throne, in an uninterrupted succession, till Cambyses II. king of Persia, conquered Egypt, 525 years before the birth of Christ: and that in the reign of this race of princes those wonderful structures were raised, which cannot now be viewed without astonishment; and of which something will be said hereafter. After the death of Cambyses Egypt continued under the Persian government, until Alexander the Great subdued that empire, when it became subject to that prince, who soon after built the celebrated city of Alexandria. That wonderful man possessed talents which qualified him not merely to conquer, but likewise to govern the world, had not his passions inslaved him when every thing external was subdued; yet the noble plans which his original and bold conceptions formed, caused a revolution in the commerce of the world, equally wonderful as his conquests, and much more permanent. After he had subdued and subverted Tyre, he caused its commerce

to

to be transferred to Alexandria, which soon became the centre of the East India trade.

Alexander was succeeded by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, 325 years before Christ, who again rendered Egypt an independent kingdom, which it continued to be for the space of 250 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, his son, collected the Alexandrian library, said to consist of seven hundred thousand volumes; and the same prince caused that translation of the Scriptures to be made into Greek, which is now distinguished by the name of "the Septuagint." His successors ever after retained the name of Ptolemies, and in that line it continued, until Cleopatra, the wife and sister of Ptolemy Dionysius, the last king, ascended the throne, in whose reign Egypt was rendered a Roman province, by Augustus, A. D. 50, and thus remained till the reign of Omar, the second caliph of the successors of Mahomet, who expelled the Romans, after it had been in their hands 600 years. Omar, actuated by the most barbarous enthusiasm, which led him to consider all necessary and valuable knowledge as comprised in the Koran, caused that inestimable treasure of ancient literature, science, and knowledge, which was deposited in the Alexandrian library, to be reduced to ashes.

From the time of the first Ptolemy to the conquest of Egypt by the Mahomedans, Europe had been supplied with the productions of the East by the Greeks of Alexandria, by the Romans while they were masters of Egypt, and by the subjects of the

emperors

emperors of Constantinople, when the kingdom became a province of their dominions; through a period, extending almost to a thousand years.

The caliphs of Babylon were the sovereigns of Egypt, till about the year 807, when the Egyptians set up a caliph of their own, called the caliph of Cairo, to whom the Saracens of Africa and Spain were subject; but the governors of the provinces, under the caliphs of Babylon and Cairo, soon wrested the civil power out of their hands, who had hitherto enjoyed an absolute control in affairs of religion and government, and left them only the shadow of sovereignty.

At length, about the year 1160, Assareddin, general of Norradin, the Saracen sultan of Damascus, subdued the kingdom of Egypt: he was succeeded by his son, the famous Saladin, who also reduced the kingdoms of Damascus, Mesopotamia, and Palestine under his dominion; also, about the year 1190, he took Jerusalem from the Christians. This prince established a body of troops in Egypt, somewhat like the present janizaries, to whom he gave the name of Mamaluks: these became a very intrepid and powerful body of men. The posterity of Saladin sat on the throne till the year 1242, when the Mamaluks deposed Elmutan, and gave the crown to one of their own officers, named Turquemenius. This was the first king of the race of the Mamaluks, which dynasty engaged in continual wars with the Christians in Syria and Palestine, till sultan Araphus drove them entirely out of the Holy Land.

From this account it appears that Egypt was one of the first conquests of the Mahomedans; in consequence of which the Greeks, who had long resorted to Alexandria, as the chief mart of Indian goods, were entirely excluded. Notwithstanding the great fertility of Egypt, yet the country is destitute of many things which are requisite in an improved state of society, either for accommodation or for ornament: too limited in extent, and too highly cultivated to afford space for forests; too level to have mines of the useful metals; it must be supplied with timber for building, with iron, lead, tin, and brass, by importation from foreign countries. The Egyptians while under the dominion of the Mameluks, seem not to have traded themselves in the ports of any Christian state; and it was principally from the Venetians that they received those necessary articles.

When the Portuguese had discovered the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, their great general Albuquerque, endeavoured to obtain a settlement at some port in the Red Sea; after many unsuccessful attempts he at length became master of the island of Ormus; but the Venetians finding that their very lucrative trade in Indian commodities, which they carried on under the protection of the soldan of the Mamaluks, was in danger of being snatched from them, so far instigated that Mahomedan prince, who was likewise deeply interested in preserving such commerce in its former channel, that he addressed Julius II. who was then pope, and Emanuel, king of Portugal, in a haughty tone, requiring them to

8 relinquish

relinquish their new course of navigation; threatening, in case of refusal, to put to death all the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, to burn their churches, and demolish the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. These threats were however disregarded, therefore, as his last resource, he fitted out a fleet in the Red Sea, in order to attack the Portuguese ships wherever they appeared. This he was enabled to do by means of the Venetians; for the love of gain will cause Christians to league with infidels against Christians! The contest was sharp and obstinate for a short time; but in the end the Portuguese entirely annihilated the naval power of their rival in those seas. Soon after, the dominion of the Mameluks was overturned; and Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, were subjected to the Turkish empire by the victorious arms of Selim I. in 1515, who formed a treaty with the Venetians, and granted them great commercial immunities. Ever since this conquest the Turks have retained possession of Egypt.

Since the time the country became subject to the Ottoman empire, it has been divided into twenty-four provinces, each of which is governed by a sangiack, or bey; the major part of these beys reside at Cairo, where always once a week, and sometimes oftener, they sit in council, called by them "the Divan." The basha is the president of the council, and executive member of the government; his office is somewhat similar to the doge of Venice, with rather more authority.—*Colonel Capper's Travels.*—All the lands in Egypt are indeed held of the grand seignior,

feignior, and ftill pay him both an annual rent, and a fine upon every defcent.

The bafha or fheick belled has his guards, or bodies of fpahis and janizaries, like the grand feignior at Conftantinople; but, as many of thefe have eftates in fuch countries, as are under the abfolute power of the beys, the bafha, if he happens to be at variance with thofe beys, cannot depend on their protection. Indeed the beys are faid to be perpetually laying plots to deftroy each other; and upon thefe occafions, the bafha does not fail to affift him who is moft likely to make a return of fervices. Pococke obferves, that neither the bafha, nor any of the beys, fcruple taking off their enemies by poifon or the dagger, of which he gives the following inftance:—A bafha, knowing that the bey, whom he would willingly difpatch, was jealous of his defigns, ordered his fervants, when he came to vifit him, to pour his own coffee and that of the bey's out of the fame pot. The bey, feeing this, concluded that it could not be poifoned, and drank it off; but the flave, on his giving the coffee to the bafha, made a falfe ftep, as he was ordered, and fpilt it on the floor; upon which the bey too late perceived the bafha's treachery.

The revenues which the grand feignor receives from Egypt arife from the annual rents and cuftoms; alfo from a poll tax on Chriftians and Jews. The rents of the villages are fixed, and this is the treafure which is annually fent to Conftantinople, and amounts in the whole to fix thoufand purfes, each purfe being eighty pounds fterling. This is a very eafy rent, and

and when the Nile does not rise fixteen cubits, even this is not paid.

In the year 1770, Ali Bey, a man equally diftinguiſhed for his mental and bodily powers, having rendered himſelf extremely popular in Egypt, openly threw off the Turkiſh yoke, and mounted the throne of the ancient ſultans, being encouraged to this bold attempt by the weak and diſtreſſed ſtate of the Ottoman empire: nor did his ambition ſtop here, but he alſo laid claim to Syria, Paleſtine, and that part of Arabia which had been ſubject to the ancient ſultans. No ſooner had he thus become a ſovereign prince, than his views were directed to make Egypt, what it had formerly been, the great centre of commerce. This patriotic uſurper was oppoſed by his brother-in-law Mahomed Bey Aboudaab, the huſband of his ſiſter, whom he had advanced from the condition of a ſlave to the dignity of a bey. Aboudaab ſo effectually ſerved the cauſe of the Turks, that he compelled Ali Bey to retire out of Egypt into Syria; who returning the next year, at the head of 30,000 men, was totally defeated, near Grand Cairo, in May 1773; his army was cut to pieces, and himſelf taken priſoner; ſoon after which he died. This event again brought Egypt under ſubjection to the Porte.

Ancient Egypt was ſuppoſed to contain eight millions of inhabitants; at preſent, its population is not ſuppoſed to reach half that number. *Volney II.* 232.

ANTIQUITIES of EGYPT.] This country abounds with proofs of its great antiquity and ancient gran-

 deur.

deur. Vaſt ruins of magnificent cities and noble temples ſtill ſupply ſcattered memorials to confirm the truth of hiſtory, and to exhibit ſpecimens of the architecture of the early ages, before it was improved and brought to perfection by the Greeks.

A little to the north of Cairo, where now ſtands a Turkiſh village, the city of BUSIRIS is ſuppoſed to have ſtood, which was renowned for its temple, dedicated to Iris, and ſome exquiſite pieces of ſculpture are ſtill remaining, although the preſent wretched inhabitants ſcruple not to demoliſh the moſt precious productions of art, when they can find in them a ready means of ſupplying domeſtic accommodations.

About two leagues farther north are the remains of the ancient city of HELIOPOLIS, called in Scripture *On* (See Geneſis, chap. xli. verſes 45 & 50), which was diſtinguiſhed for the worſhip of the ſun, whoſe prieſts were eminently ſkilled in philoſophy and aſtronomy: theſe firſt computed time by years of 365 days. The Arabs called this city, "the caſtle of the lights," from the perpetual fire which was maintained here.

MEMPHIS, in ancient times the capital of Egypt, which in the height of its proſperity was ſeven leagues in circumference, at preſent exhibits no veſtiges by which to determine its ſite, concerning which Pliny and Strabo formed different conjectures; whilſt Savory and Volney, among the moderns, are equally wide in opinion. But although its ſituation is not exactly determined, it is however certain that it was deſtroyed by Cambyſes. This city was the reſidence of the Pharaohs;

Pharaohs; and here, the patriarch Joſeph, when overſeer of the corn of Egypt, eſtabliſhed his magazines.

THEBES, however, which was the reſidence of the kings of Egypt before they removed to Memphis, notwithſtanding its more remote antiquity, ſtill exhibits a grand aſſemblage of ruins, which are now generally known by the name of "The antiquities of Carnack and Luxerien," two villages ſituated among thoſe ruins.

Homer makes his hero Achilles draw a ſtriking picture of Thebes, when, venting his reſentment againſt Agamemnon, he ſpurns at any gift which could be offered to purchaſe his friendſhip for ſuch a man.

> Not all proud Thebes' unrival'd walls contain,
> The world's great Empreſs on th' Ægyptian plain,
> That pours her heroes through an hundred gates,
> And ſpreads her conqueſts o'er a thouſand ſtates.
>
> *Iliad*, IX. 500. &c.

The poet, as he is emphatically called by Longinus, in this inſtance, however, ſeems to have departed from his wonted accuracy, for it does not appear that this famous city had any gates, or was ever encompaſſed with walls, as no hiſtorian makes mention of any, nor are there at this day any traces of them. Diodorus Siculus, to bring off the bard, ſuppoſes that he means the gates of the temples.

The LABYRINTH, according to Herodotus, was built by the twelve kings of Egypt, when the government was divided into twelve parts, and ſerved as ſo many palaces to meet in, and adjuſt the affairs of government, and ceremonials of religion. Upon the

model of this very extensive and singular structure, the famous labyrinth of Crete was formed.

The Pyramids of Memphis and Soccotra.] About four leagues distance from Cairo are the Pyramids, which were formerly ranked among the seven wonders of the world, and cannot now be viewed without admiration. These are situated upon the solid rock, at the foot of the high mountains that accompany the Nile in its course, and separate Egypt from Libya. Their architecture, both on the inside and without, is extremely different with respect to distribution, materials, and grandeur. Some of these are open, others are in ruins, and most of them are inclosed; but all have been injured by time. The immense quantity of materials used in constructing them, renders it impossible for all of them to have been built at the same time, and those that were last erected greatly exceed the first in magnificence and grandeur. They are the works, says Norden, of the most remote antiquity, and even more early than the times of the first historians whose writings have been transmitted to us, the very epocha of their beginning being lost at the time when the first Greek philosophers travelled into Egypt. Herodotus, indeed, names the time when the largest was erected, and makes it the work of Cheops.—*See Mr. Beloe's Translation, Vol. I. page 262—370, and the notes annexed.*

The principal pyramids being situated near the place where the ancient city of Memphis is supposed to have stood, they are commonly called "the

PYRAMIDS of MEMPHIS;" Mr. Volney calls them "the pyramids of Djira."

There are four of the pyramids that deserve the attention of the curious; beside these, there are seven or eight other; but these last are not to be compared with the former, especially as some are in a very ruinous condition. The four principal are nearly upon the same diagonal line, at about 4000 paces distance from each other; and their four faces exactly correspond to the four cardinal points. The two most northerly are the largest; and Mr. Greaves, who measured the bottom of the first, found that it was exactly 633 English feet square, and that its perpendicular height is 500 feet; but if it be taken as the pyramid ascends, inclining, then the height is equal to the breadth of the base. It is a circumstance pretty generally known, that the square of Lincoln's-inn-fields, in London, was laid out by Inigo Jones, according to the exact size of the base of this pyramid. No entrance could be gained into some other of the larger pyramids, by the greatest exertions of labour, and the use of every means which invention could suggest.

This is the pyramid which Herodotus says was built by Cheops. He reigned fifty years, twenty of which he employed upon this vast fabric, and three-fourths of the inhabitants of Egypt were employed, by forced service, in hewing, transporting, and raising the stones. It is supposed to have been erected about before Solomon's temple, or 860 years before Christ. M. Maillet supposes the pyra-

mid to be a vaſt Mauſoleum; that in the upper chamber the body of the king was depoſited, and in the lower one that of his queen. He forms this opinion, not on any traces which have been met with of a body, for none have been found, but becauſe, on the eaſtern ſide of the lower apartment, there is a niche, ſunk three feet into the wall, and eight feet high by three wide; here, he is confident, that a mummy had been placed, according to the cuſtom in Egypt, and he is equally ſatisfied that the king was depoſited in the upper hall, although there is no niche to confirm the fact. To the opinion of this learned Frenchman, may be oppoſed that of our countryman Dr. Shaw, who obſerves, that the great cheſt of granite found in the upper chamber, or hall, of the pyramid, was probably intended for ſome religious uſe, it being of a different form from the ſtone coffins uſed in Egypt. Maillet aſſerts, that when the body of the king who built this pyramid was depoſited in this ſuperb mauſoleum, ſeveral living perſons, deſtined never to come out of it, and to be buried alive with their prince, were introduced there at the ſame time; this he is convinced of from having obſerved two holes, one toward the north, the other toward the eaſt, which are elevated three feet and an half above the pavement, one in an horizontal direction, which he ſays was deſigned to admit air to the perſons encloſed in this tomb, and by this they were ſupplied with their food. When they entered this receptacle, he ſuppoſes that each perſon was furniſhed with a coffin, to receive him

him when dead, and that they successively rendered each other this last pious duty, until the last survivor, who must want that succour which his companions had derived from himself and others. The other hole, which descends to the bottom of the pyramid, served to empty dirt and filth. This conclusion, though very confidently drawn, being supported neither by any traditional evidence, nor by any thing found within the pyramid, a sceptic in such an opinion might ask, where are the remains of these coffins? what is become of the skeletons? Not even a bone of those victims, who are supposed to have been thus devoted to the manes of their prince, is known to have been found, and neither avarice nor curiosity could induce a removal of them. But though in this instance not one corroborating circumstance can be produced, yet it is certain that the practice of immuring the living in the tomb of a deceased king did prevail in those times

> Which first taught souls enslav'd, and realms undone,
> Th' enormous faith of many made for one.

At near ten miles distance from these pyramids are those of SOCCOTRA, written by Volney, Sakary (I. 280). They extend from N. to S. and are situated at the foot of the mountains, in a vast plain.

One of the pyramids, which rises above the rest, is called "the Great Pyramid to the North." Norden measuring this structure, found that the east side extended 690 feet, and the north side 710. The perpendicular height is 345 feet.

At the distance of a mile to the S. E. is another,

called "the Great Pyramid to the South," which is about 600 feet ſquare at the bottom. It ſeems to have been caſed all the way up, and is built within of hewn ſtone.

On a lower ground, about two miles to the E. of the laſt great pyramid, is one built of unburned brick, which ſeems to have been made of the mud of the Nile, it being a ſandy black clay, with ſome pebbles and ſhells in it, and mixed up with chopped ſtraw, in order to bind the clay together, as unburned bricks are at preſent uſually made in Egypt, and other parts of the Eaſt. It ſeems not improbable that this pyramid was built by the Iſraelites, and that they alſo made the bricks of which it is formed; for Joſephus ſays, "when time had extinguiſhed the memory of the benefits performed by Joſeph, and the kingdom was transferred to another family, the Iſraelites were uſed with great rigour; they were ordered to cut canals for the Nile, to raiſe dykes, and to erect fantaſtical pyramids." *Joſ. Ant. lib.* II. *chap.* ix.

Many learned men have been of opinion that theſe pyramids were erected for the purpoſe of making aſtronomical obſervations, and to ſerve as ſun-dials, by which the variation of the ſhadow, in proportion to its height, could be taken with a degree of accuracy. What ſupports this opinion is, that two of the ſides of every one of theſe buildings ſtand exactly north and ſouth, ſo as to be true meridian lines, and the other two ſides ſtand as exactly eaſt and weſt. Plato firſt ſuggeſted this idea; but a ſtrong objection to it is, that the variation in the

the position of the earth in its orbit, although extremely slow and gradual, yet would, in such a prodigious revolution of years, be found to have occasioned a considerable deviation from the true meridian line of these pyramids in modern times: perhaps no modern traveller has taken an observation of their present position with sufficient accuracy; otherwise the objection is decisive. M. Volney objects on another ground, saying, "It could not be necessary to erect eleven observatories so near each other, as the pyramids of different sizes are;" and in support of the opinion that they were Mausolea, he expresses himself as follows: "This sterile spot, remote from all cultivated land, possesses the qualities requisite for an Egyptian cemetery, and near it was that of the whole city of Memphis, the plain of Mummies. If we consider all these things we shall no longer doubt that the pyramids are only tombs: we shall cease to wonder that the despots of a superstitious people should have made it a point of importance and pride to build for their skeletons impenetrable habitations, when we are informed, that even before the time of Moses it was a dogma at Memphis, that souls at the expiration of six thousand years should return to the bodies they had quitted. It was for this reason that so much pains were taken to preserve the body from putrefaction, and that endeavours were used to retain even its form, by means of spices, bandages, and every kind of preservative against corrodation. *Volney's Travels*, I. 277.

In so symbolical a religion as that of the ancient Egyptians,

Egyptians, it is not improbable that the pyramidical form might convey some sacred meaning; and perhaps the pyramids themselves might be objects of their adoration as symbolizing the Deity.

The CATACOMBS and EGYPTIAN MUMMIES.] In the same plain in which these last pyramids are placed, are the CATACOMBS, in which are found the remains of embalmed bodies, swathes scattered up and down, and sometimes coffins standing upright and entire, made of sycamore or Pharaoh's fig-tree, that have continued in these subterraneous apartments above three thousand years, though the wood is to appearance spongy and porous. Bishop Pocock brought one of these mummies to England, the latter end of the last century, which is now at Oxford, and several other are preserved in the cabinets of the curious.—See an account of a mummy which was inspected at London, in the year 1763, in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1764; also *Dr. Blumenbach's observations in part ii. for* 1794, *article* 14.

Among the catacombs is one for the birds and other animals worshipped by the ancient Egyptians; for when they happened to find them dead they embalmed them, and swathed them with the same care as the human bodies. This catacomb is much more magnificent than the rest. The birds are deposited in earthen vases, covered over and stopped close with mortar; they were embalmed by dipping them in gums and aromatic drugs, and were bound up, like the human bodies, with many folds of linen.

At some distance is a SPHYNX, whose enormous

bulk attracts the admiration of every beholder. It is cut out of the solid rock; and Dr. Pococke observes, that what some have thought joinings of the stones, are only veins of the rock. This extraordinary monument, which is said to have been the sepulchre of Amasis, is about twenty-seven feet high. The lower part of the rock, or beginning of the breast, is thirty-three feet wide, and it is about a hundred and thirteen feet from the fore-part of the neck to the tail; but the sand is raised about it to such a height that the top of the back can only be seen. This monument of antiquity is very much disfigured by the Mahomedans, who imbibe, from their religion, a detestation of any representation of a human being or any animal. M. Paw, in his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, supposes that the sphynxes found in Egypt, composed of the body of a virgin grafted on that of a lion, were images of the divinity, who was represented as an hermaphrodite. Savary accounts for this symbol, by saying, that, as it is under the signs of the Lion and of the Virgin (in August and September) that the Nile overflows its banks, and fertilizes Egypt, the Sphynx was an hieroglyphic, which reminded the people of the most important event of the whole year. *Letters on Egypt*, I. 287. The Nile begins to rise in the month of June, and probably does not attain its summit until the end of July. *Pococke.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

ABYSSINIA.

THE empire of Abyssinia is indifferently called Abyssinia, Abasi, or Habessinia, from the Arabic Herbesh, which signifies a mixture, the country being peopled by various nations; but the inhabitants themselves call it Itjopia or Ethiopia. It has also been known, though absurdly, by the name of Prester John's country. It extends from thirty-two degrees to forty-five degrees E. longitude, and from seven degrees twenty minutes to about sixteen degrees N. latitude. It is bounded on the N. by the kingdom of Nubia; on the E. by Azamia, and a vast chain of mountains which separate it from the Red Sea; on the S. it is bounded by Alaba, called by Mr. Bruce, Galla; and on the W. by parts little known.

The Abyssinian empire appears to have been from its first foundation entirely despotic; and, according to their annals, there never was a period of time since its first origin, when the princes of this country did not claim an absolute right over the lives, liberty, and fortunes of their subjects, as well as an uncontrollable authority in all ecclesiastical affairs; and it is not known, that there ever were any written

laws

laws to restrain this exhorbitant power, or secure the liberties of the subject.

These princes boast their being descended from Menilehech, the son of Solomon, king of Israel, by the queen of Sheba. According to them this princess reigned twenty-five years after her return from Judea, and was succeeded by this son, from whom descended a series of princes in a direct line down to the year nine hundred and sixty, when the crown passed into another family, but was afterward restored to the former. Hence the emperor still retains the pompous titles of "the Beloved of God," "Son of the Pillar of Sion," "Kinsman to the race of Judah," "Son of David and Solomon," and "Emperor of the Great and high Ethiopia, its kingdoms and provinces," &c. They also bear in their arms a lion holding a cross, with this inscription in the Ethiopic tongue, "The lion of the tribe of "Judah is victorious."

The respect paid to this prince amounts almost to adoration; those who are admitted to his presence fall prostrate before him, and kiss the earth as they approach his person; and it is said that even in his absence they never hear his name mentioned without bowing very low, and touching the ground with their hand. The other marks of grandeur chiefly consist in the retinue with which he is attended; for he is not only accompanied by his own household and guards, which are very numerous, but by all the grandees and officers of the empire, who

strive

ſtrive to outvie each other in the greatneſs and ſplendour of their retinue, in the richneſs of their dreſs, and the magnificence of their pavilions. As they chiefly live in tents, the emperor's camp always takes up a large ſpace of ground, and makes a very ſplendid appearance, to which the regular diſpoſition of the ſtreets, the great variety of tents, ſtreamers, and other ornaments, eſpecially the many lights and fires at night, do not a little contribute; ſo that the whole appears like a vaſt open and regular city, in whoſe centre, or on ſome eminent part of it, ſtands the imperial pavilion, which excels all the reſt in height, bulk, and grandeur. Next to it are thoſe of the empreſſes and royal family, and then thoſe of the officers of the court, all appearing with proportionable, though inferior luſtre: to theſe may be added thoſe large and ſtately pavilions which ſerve as churches, upon which they beſtow no ſmall expence, in adorning them both within and without. In ſhort, the imperial camp is of vaſt extent, and yet good order is commonly obſerved in it. It has markets, courts of juſtice, and places where young perſons of rank perform a variety of exercifes on horſeback. But all the reſt reſembles only a great number of long extenſive lanes, of mean ordinary taſte, or low miſerable huts of lath and clay covered with ſtraw, which ſerve the emperor's guards, ſoldiers, and a prodigious multitude of ſuttlers and other attendants.

When the emperor removes his camp, or, as it may

may be properly ſtyled, his metropolis, which is chiefly occaſioned either through the want of wood, proviſions, or the different wars in which he is engaged, the chief care is to chooſe a convenient and ſpacious ſpot.

Since the time that theſe accounts were written, the empire has been greatly weakened by long and fierce inteſtine commotions, and the grandeur of the emperor conſequently much diminiſhed; but Mr. Bruce gives the following inſtances of his deſpotic power, and of the ſervile homage which is paid to him. It is death to ſtrike, or lift the hand to ſtrike in the king's preſence. *Travels*, IV. 70. Sitting on the king's ſaddle, or in his ſeat at Gondar, is high treaſon. III. 586. In all places where a governor is inveſted with ſupreme power, it is cuſtomary to have an arm-chair left empty in the middle of the hall where juſtice is adminiſtered, which repreſents the ſovereign, and to which obeiſance is made. IV. 357.

There is an officer named Kal Hatze who ſits always upon the ſteps, at the ſide of the lattice window, where there is a hole, covered in the inſide with a curtain of green taffeta: behind this curtain the king ſits, and through the hole ſends, by this officer, what he has to ſay to the board, who ariſe, and receive the meſſenger ſtanding. *Travels*, IV. 76.

When the king was marching with his army, the Shum or lord of a diſtrict through which he paſſed and his ſon were both hanged, becauſe a branch of

a tree

a tree which reached acroſs a piece of water had taken off the king's cap, and left him bare-headed. V. 66.

Although the crown of Abyſſinia is hereditary, and muſt be preſerved in the ſame family; yet the emperor, if he pleaſes, may chooſe any one of his children whom he thinks moſt worthy to ſucceed him. This probably gave birth to the ſevere cuſtom, formerly obſerved in this empire, of confining all the princes of the blood to the fortreſs, or rock, called Ambaguexen, which ſome have deſcribed as a ſevere and diſagreeable place of confinement, on the ſummit of a lofty mountain; while others repreſent it as an earthly paradiſe, in which theſe princes enjoyed every bleſſing except liberty, and were educated in a manner ſuitable to their birth. This cuſtom, according to Lobo, was eſtabliſhed in the year 1260, and had been aboliſhed ſome time when he was in the empire. From it the late Dr. Johnſon founded his pleaſing romance of Raſſelas.

The Abyſſinian monarchs, like their ancient progenitor Solomon, king of the Jews, allow themſelves a plurality of wives; and not only imitate him in that, but in taking thoſe of different religions, even Mahomedans and Gentiles; and ſome have carried this ſo far, as to allow their heathen wives to have their own temples and idols; ſo that on one ſide might be ſeen the church of God, and on the other a pagan temple. Others, however, have had ſo much regard to their religion, as to cauſe thoſe Pagan

&c.

or Mahomedan ladies to be inſtructed and baptized before they married them. The generality of theſe princes, however, chooſe to marry the daughters of noble families among their ſubjects; while others pay a greater regard to the natural endowments of the mind, or the beauty of the perſon, than to their noble extraction.

It was formerly the cuſtom for the emperors never to appear in public, and they were ſeldom known to trouble themſelves with the affairs of government, the care of which was committed to two miniſters, called babluded, or favourites: but this cuſtom has been long aboliſhed, and they ſhew themſelves to their ſubjects at leaſt three or four times a year, though none is allowed to ſee them eat, except the pages who feed them (for both they and all the great have their meat cut into bits, and conveyed to their mouths by young pages): when they give audience to foreign ambaſſadors, they always ſit out of ſight behind the curtain.

The revenues of the empire ſeem to be very inconſiderable, and chiefly ariſe from the four following branches: the firſt is the tribute paid by the governors of ſuch provinces and kingdoms as abound with gold, which amounts to no more than about five or ſix thouſand ounces *per annum*, one year with another. The next branch ariſes from the ſale of all the great offices of the empire, and the yearly tribute they pay him. The third branch conſiſts of a tenth of all the

cattle of the empire, which is levied every third year, and the fourth of a piece of cotton cloth paid for every cotton loom.

Notwithstanding the despotic power which prevails in Abyssinia, and no less in Nubia, yet the king of Sennaar, a country between them, possesses his sovereignty, subject to a condition which renders him entirely at the mercy of his nobles; and yet the first title of nobility in the country is that of slave; "there is indeed," says Mr. Bruce, "no other. Upon any appearance of your undervaluing a man at Sennaar, he instantly asks you, if you know who he is? If you do not know he is a slave? with the same idea of aristocratical importance, as would be expressed in England, upon a like occasion, Do you know to whom you are speaking? Do you know that I am a peer? All titles and dignities are undervalued and precarious, unless they are in the hands of one that is a slave; slavery in Sennaar is the only true nobility." IV. 459.

The restriction alluded to above, under which the king of Sennaar reigns, is as follows: when a king ascends the throne, he receives his dignity upon this express condition, that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves, upon a council being held by the great officers, and they decreeing that it is not for the advantage of the state that he should be suffered to reign any longer. There is one

officer of his own family, who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign's and kinsman's blood: this officer is called *Cid el Coom*, which means, master of the king's household or servants, but he has no vote in deposing the king, nor is any guilt imputed to him, although he should thus officially murder many of his sovereigns. *Achmet Sid el Coom*, with whom Mr. Bruce was upon the most intimate terms, while he continued at Sennaar, resided in the king's (Ismain's) palace: he had put to death the late king, Nasser, and two of his sons, who were well grown, beside a child at its mother's breast, and he was expected every day to be directed to act the same part by Ismain, though at that time there was no malice on the one part nor jealousy on the other, although Mr. Bruce believed each of them had an apprehension of what was likely to happen. This royal executioner told our traveller with great coolness, in answer to the question why he murdered Nasser's sons in his father's presence? that he did not dare to do otherwise from duty to Nasser, whose right it was to see his sons slain in a regular and lawful manner, and this was by cutting the throat with a sword, and not by a more ignominious and painful death, which if it had not been done in his father's sight, the vengeance of their enemies might have suggested and inflicted. He said that Nassar was very little concerned at the spectacle of his two sons' death, but very loath when it came to his turn to die, earnestly conjuring Achmet to suffer him to escape;

 but

but finding all entreaties vain, he submitted without resistance. Mr. Bruce asked Achmet, if he was not afraid, when he entered into the king's presence, lest he too might take it into his head to shew him that to die or be slain was not so slight a matter as he made of it? He said by no means; that it was his duty to be with the king the greatest part of the morning, and necessarily once very late in the evening. That the king knew he had no hand in the harm that might be done to him, nor any way advanced his death; but being come to the point that he must die, the rest was only a matter of decency, and it would undoubtedly be the object of his choice rather to be slain by the hands of his own relation in private, than by those of an hired assassin, an Arab, or a Christian slave in public view. *Travels*, IV. 462.

Religion of the Abyssinians.] It has already been intimated, that the Abyssinians boast their having received both their kings and the Jewish religion from Solomon. Of this they have an ancient record, which gives the following account of this singular event: "That a great and potent queen, named Azeb, or Maqueda, reigning in Ethiopia, being informed by a merchant, named Tamerin, of the great power and wisdom of Solomon, travelled to Jerusalem, attended by a retinue of the greatest princes and nobles of Ethiopia, and with immense treasure. There Solomon instructed her in the knowledge of the true God; and upon her return home, at the end

of

of nine months, ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who was called Menilehech, and alſo David. This ſon afterward going to Jeruſalem to ſee his father Solomon, was magnificently entertained by him, and anointed king of Ethiopia, by Zadoc, the high-prieſt; and when he was thoroughly inſtructed in the law of God, which he was to cauſe to be obſerved in his dominions, Solomon aſſigned ſeveral of the firſt-born of Iſrael to attend and ſerve him in Ethiopia, and furniſhed him with officers and ſervants belonging to the houſe of Judah, with a high-prieſt, levites, and doctors in the law of Moſes."

There is nothing in this account very improbable; but the ſame record adds many circumſtances that are evidently falſe; as, that the firſt-born of Iſrael, at the inſtigation of Azariah, the ſon of Zadoc, went to Jeruſalem, and fetched the ark out of the temple; and, being aſſiſted by a train of miracles, eſcaped the purſuit of Solomon, and arrived with it in Ethiopia; it is not, however, improbable, that the prince of Abyſſinia might cauſe another ark to be made like that formed by Moſes; and that this ſtory might be afterward invented, in order to procure it a more general veneration. Such an ark is ſaid to be ſtill kept, but is ſo cloſely concealed, that even their monarchs are not admitted to the ſight of it.

The Abyſſinians maintain, that they were con-

verted to Christianity by the eunuch or prime minister of their queen Candace, or, as they call her, Handake, who, after his conversion by Philip, they say returned into Ethiopia, and gave his queen a full account of all that had passed; upon which that princess also believed in the Gospel. However this may be, Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, in the year 335, ordained Frumentius, bishop of Axuma, and sent him to preach the Gospel in Ethiopia. This he performed with great success; the discipline of the church was then settled conformably to that of Alexandria; priests and deacons were every where ordained; liturgies, articles, and canons were settled and confirmed; and the Abyssinian church was brought to acknowledge herself wholly subject to, and dependent upon, that of Alexandria.

The early travellers to the east, such as Rubruquis, Marco Paulo, and others, gave to the empire of Abyssinia the name of Prester, or Presbyter John's country, from the great power and authority which was possessed by the chief ecclesiastic; but Lobo accounts for this name being given to Abyssinia, because the country was confounded by the Portuguese, with an ancient and famous Christian state called by that name in the Indies, which is now known as the country of the Grand Lama. *Voyage to Abyssinia, p.* 44. The report which had been spread in Europe, of Chris-

tianity

tianity being professed in this remote and secluded country, induced John II. king of Portugal, when intent upon opening a communication with the East Indies, to attempt to gain some knowledge of Abyssinia also. To effect both these purposes, he sent Pedro de Covillam and Alphonso de Payva, about the year 1488, who were both thoroughly versed in the Arabic language, into the East. The two travellers repaired to Cairo, whence they travelled in company with a caravan of Egyptian merchants, and crossed over to Aden on the Red Sea, where they separated; Payva sailed directly toward Abyssinia, Covillam embarked for the East Indies. The latter completed his travels successfully and safely, but the former was unfortunately murdered, and the country remained entirely unknown to Europeans until some missionaries were hardy enough to visit it early in the last century.

The Abyssinians, however, retain many of the Jewish ceremonies. They circumcise not only the male but the female infants, which last is done by cutting off a small piece of skin from the clitoris. They abstain from blood, things strangled, the flesh of swine, and the other animals prohibited by the Mosaic law. According to Mr. Bruce, hares are likewise interdicted for food. They use purifications and washings after certain defilements. They oblige a man, if his brother die without

 male

male iſſue, to marry his widow, and raiſe up ſeed to his name; and they keep the ſeventh day ſabbath.

On the other hand, they believe the doctrine of the Trinity, and that Chriſt ſhall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead, when the juſt ſhall inherit the kingdom of heaven, and unrepenting ſinners be ſent into hell. Mr. Bruce relates that a dwarf belonging to Ras Michael, prime miniſter of Abyſſinia, whoſe name was Dono, conſtantly ſpent his time in reading the ſcriptures, the acts of the councils, the works of St. John Chryſoſtom, and other ſuch books as they have among them. *Travels* IV. 101.

The Abyſſinian clergy are allowed to marry. The people never enter their churches without pulling off their ſhoes or ſandals. The divine ſervice conſiſts of a ſet of prayers, pſalms, and hymns ſuitable to the ſeaſons, and for the moſt part is performed with great decency and devotion, without any of that pomp and ceremony uſed in the church of Rome. They have no bells, but call the people to the church by the ſound of wooden hammers. They have neither pews, benches, nor haſſocks, but continue ſtanding all the time. In none of theſe edifices, whether ſumptuous or mean, are any ſtatues or carved images of any kind, except pictures: they will not ſuffer any crucifixes, whether carved or caſt

in

in metal, to be seen in them, or to be worn about their necks.

There are three sects prevailing in Abyssinia, the Galla, Shangalia, and Mahomedans; to which must be added the Agows of Damot, who live near the fountains forming the stream which has been called the source of the Nile. They are Pagans, and pay divine worship to these waters, which run into the great lake of Tzana or Dembea.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

BARBARY STATES.

THIS country, forming the northern boundary of Africa, in its fulleſt extent, ſtretches from Egypt on the E. to the Atlantic Ocean on the W. including thirty-five degrees of longitude, or from ten degrees W. to 25 degrees E. Its northern part forms the ſouthern ſhore of the Mediterranean Sea, and is of a very irregular ſhape; in ſome parts approaching to the thirtieth degree of N. latitude, and in others reaching beyond thirty-ſeven degrees. Its length from N. to S. bears no proportion to its limits from W. to E.; being bounded on the S. by a deſert country little known. On the Atlantic are the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, and on the Mediterranean, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca.

The northern parts of this country were probably firſt planted by the Egyptians; but the early periods of the hiſtory of this extenſive region, which in ancient times was called Lybea, are involved in the greateſt obſcurity. The Phenicians afterward ſent colonies hither, and built Utica and Carthage, about

137 years before the foundation of Rome; the latter situated near the spot on which Tunis now stands. The Carthaginians soon became powerful and wealthy by trade, and finding the country divided into a great many petty kingdoms and states, either subdued the princes on that coast or made them tributary. As they gradually advanced in power, most of the islands in the Mediterranean sea became subject to them; the rich and extensive kingdom of Spain also fell under their dominion. At length the ambitious views of Carthage began to clash with those of Rome. At the time of this dreadful collision a war between the two nations was instantly kindled, and carried on with such obstinacy and fury, as plainly indicated that it could only be terminated by the utter destruction of the one or the other. Rome, then in the height of her republican and patriotic principles, was threatened to be overwhelmed by the Carthaginian power led on by Hannibal, but at length her firmness and good fortune effected her deliverance; after many hard fought battles, in which the most consummate generalship was displayed, Rome obtained a decided superiority over her rival, corrupted by her riches, at the same time torn and weakened by intestine divisions, raised by the baneful spirit of party. The commercial people at length became the slaves of the warlike power, 146 years before Christ.

The Romans remained sovereigns of the coast of

Barbary

Barbary till the Vandals, about the middle of the fifth century, reduced it under their dominion.

These people by their irresistible impetuosity subdued all Spain, passed the pillars of Hercules (now named Gibraltar), and, like an inundation, spread themselves over the country of Lybea. They would have retained the conquests they had acquired, could they have cherished that military spirit with which their king Genseric had inspired them; but with this barbarian, who had great powers of mind, that spirit became extinct: military discipline was relaxed, and a government which was supported merely by such a principle, was overthrown as soon as that failed. The Roman, or rather the Grecian emperors, recovered Lybea. Belisarius, the general of Justinian, subdued these people, extirpated them, and re-established the empire, with all its ancient privileges. It remained under their dominion till the Saracen caliphs, the successors of Mahomed, rendered formidable by their institutions and their successes, armed with the Koran and the sword, compelled the Romans, weakened by their divisions, to repass the sea. These generals augmented that vast dominion, which Mahomed had founded, by adding the northern parts of Africa. The lieutenants of the caliphs afterward deprived their masters of these rich spoils, and erected the provinces entrusted to their care into independent states, of which the sovereignty of Morocco was the most con-

considerable, possessing the N. W. part of that country, which in the Roman division obtained the name of Mauritania Tingitana, from Tingis, or Tangir, the capital, and is now styled the empire of Morocco, comprehending the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

In the eighth century these Mussulmans made a conquest of the greatest part of Spain; but after the loss of Granada, which happened about the year 1492, they were dispossessed of that country; and Ferdinand and Isabella, who were then upon the throne of Spain, obliged them to renounce their religion, or transport themselves to the coast of Africa. Those who made choice of the alternative of going into exile, to revenge themselves on the Spaniards, and supply their necessities, confederated with the Mahomedan princes on the coast of Barbary, and having fitted out little fleets of cruising vessels, took all the Spanish merchant ships they met with at sea, and, being well acquainted with the country, landed in Spain, and brought away multitudes of the inhabitants, whom they reduced to slavery. The Spaniards hereupon assembled a fleet of men of war, invaded Barbary, and having taken Oran, and many other places on the coast of Algiers, were in a fair way of making an entire conquest of that country, but they were stopped in their career by the famous corsair Barbarossa, who, with his brother, were invited thither to defend those natives, each professing the Mahomedan faith: but the natives, as well as their Christian opponents, suffered severely by this invitation. Their history is very singular.

6 These

These two brothers, named Horuc and Hayradin, were the sons of a porter in the isle of Lesbos. The elder obtained the additional name of Barbarossa, from the red colour of his beard; and it afterward became the common surname of both. The strong bent of their natural disposition led them, when youths, to associate with pirates, among whom they became distinguished by their undaunted courage and spirit of enterprise. After acting with these freebooters for some time, their superior talents raised them to the command of a vessel, with which they proved so successful, that Horuc Barbarossa became the admiral of a considerable fleet of corsairs, and his brother Hayradin bore the second command. With this force they enriched themselves and their followers with the spoils which they procured on the Mediterranean sea, and in the Levant. Early in the sixteenth century, the invitation which Eutemi, king of Algiers, gave to the elder brother, for the purpose of assisting him against the Spaniards, brought that kingdom under his control; and he made no scruple to seize it, and assume a kingly power. In the year 1516, soon after Charles V. succeeded to the crown of Spain, Cardinal Ximenes, who conducted the affairs of the kingdom, sent an army against Barbarossa, but the ill conduct of the commander occasioned a very disgraceful overthrow: two years after, the marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, defeated the usurper in several engagements, and he was at length slain. On his death, Hayradin, who was also sur-

named

named Barbaroſſa, ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Algiers; when, to render the tenure more ſecure, as well againſt the inſurrections of the Moors and Arabs who diſliked his government, as againſt the attacks which might be made by Chriſtian powers, he voluntarily offered Solyman II. to put his kingdom under the protection of the Turkiſh empire, which was readily accepted, and the emperor ſent him a body of Turkiſh infantry for his defence. The reputation which he had acquired as a naval commander, cauſed him, ſome time after, to be appointed to the command of the Turkiſh fleet, then waging war with the Venetians. He bore the rank of captain baſha. He afterward, by the aſſiſtance of the Turks, ſubdued the kingdom of Tunis, and dethroned Alraſchid, a ſon of the late king, who had ſeized the crown. With this great increaſe of territory and ſtrength, his depredations on the commerce of the Chriſtians in the Mediterranean roſe to a grievous height. But although ſuch outrages were committed upon all indiſcriminately; whilſt the value of the plundered property, and the numbers which were carried into ſlavery ſtrongly affected the intereſts, and rouſed the feelings of all; yet the jarring intereſts, and bitter animoſities which prevailed among the great powers of Europe, prevented their joining, as in one common cauſe, againſt ſuch fierce and lawleſs depredators. At length the emperor Charles V, among all the Chriſtian princes, ſtood forward to cruſh theſe miſcreants. Although the injuries which his ſubjects

ſubjects ſuſtained were ſufficient to prompt this meaſure, yet a farther incentive at that time occurred; this was an application made by Muley-Haſeen, a brother of Alraſchid, and depoſed by him, before the capture of Tunis by Barbaroſſa, to reſtore Muley to the kingdom of his anceſtors.

In the year 1535, vaſt preparations were made, and a formidable force by ſea and land aſſembled. The emperor, whoſe diſpoſition led him to delight in military operations, determined to command this armament in perſon. It would have been well for the happineſs of mankind, if his reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit had not led him to ſtir up diſſentions and wars in Europe, for cauſes leſs juſtifiable than thoſe which led to this war. The emperor embarked at Barcelona, and proceeded to Cagliara, in the iſland of Sardinia, where the whole force was aſſembled. He was joined by Andrew Doria, the famous Venetian admiral, with a number of gallies; to whom the command of the whole fleet was conſigned, which conſiſted of near 500 veſſels, having on board above 30,000 regular troops. The ſtrong fortreſs of Goletta, to the weſtward of the city of Tunis, near which the renowned city of Carthage formerly ſtood, and which defends a capacious and ſecure bay which bears the ſame name, was taken by ſtorm, and the whole of Barbaroſſa's fleet, which was moored in the bay, under the protection of the fortreſs, was the firſt fruit of that ſucceſs: the arſenal immediately followed. The emperor proceeding with a rapid march to the city, Barbaroſſa came forth

forth to give him battle, with an army of 50,000 men, but although the onset of the Moors and Arabs was furious, yet the cool and well-directed bravery of the disciplined troops of Spain withstood and repelled the attack, driving them back in great confusion into the city, where 10,000 Christians, who were held in slavery, having found means to extricate themselves from their chains, and o'er-master their keepers, rushed upon the garrison which defended the city, and joyfully received their victorious Christian brethren. Barbarossa, before his departure to the battle, had proposed to his principal officers, the massacre of all these captives, lest they should avail themselves of the general commotion; but the proposal was so big with sanguinary horror, that it was reprobated even by men who had long been insensible to the feelings of humanity. The usurper, after the rout of his army, fled to Bona, a town in Algiers, bordering on the kingdom of Tunis.

The slaughter which followed, upon the Spaniards entering the city, could scarcely be prevented by any interposing authority, when such rancorous hatred subsisted between the contending parties: beside those who were actually found in arms, who could obtain no quarter, 30,000 of the peaceable inhabitants are said to have fallen by the sword, and 10,000 to have been carried away into slavery.

Immediately upon this speedy conquest of the kingdom of Tunis, the emperor invested Muley-

Haſeen with the kingly authority, entering into a treaty with him to hold the kingdom in fee of the court of Spain; to do homage to the emperor; that he ſhould ſet at liberty all Chriſtian ſlaves of whatever nation; and that the Goletta fort ſhould be garriſoned with Spaniſh troops, for whoſe ſupport 12,000 crowns ſhould be annually paid by the king of Tunis. The emperor was extolled for thus placing the Mahomedan prince on the throne of Tunis; but he certainly merited little on the ſcore of generoſity, as he retained to himſelf every advantage which prudent policy might lead him to covet; and the prince whom he advanced to the mere pageantry of royalty, was, from his weakneſs as from his worthleſſneſs, alike unfit to govern.

Two years after this conqueſt was made, Francis I. concluded a treaty with Solyman the Magnificent; and Barbaroſſa, with a powerful fleet, ravaged the coaſts of Italy, until he was obliged to retire on the appearance of Dorea, the Venetian admiral, with a ſuperior force. In the year 1543 he again appeared off the coaſts of Italy with a fleet of 110 gallies, and made a deſcent at Rheggio, which he plundered and burnt; afterward receiving on board a body of French troops, he proceeded to Nice, but this diſgraceful confederacy proved unſucceſsful; no impreſſion could be made, and Dorea ſoon after appearing, Barbaroſſa was compelled to retire. The next year, Francis finding how odious ſuch an alliance rendered him to all chriſtendom, diſmiſſed

8 Barbaroſſa,

Barbarossa. From this time nothing farther is known concerning him, and he must then have been far advanced in years.

After Hayradin Barbarossa had conquered the kingdom of Tunis, the government of Algiers was committed to Haseen Aga, a renegado eunuch, who had highly distinguished himself for his boldness and activity. The resort of fugitives from Tunis, after the Spanish conquest, gave to Haseen a great increase of strength, so that the depredations committed on the Spanish trade and coasts were little abated by the suppression of one pyratical state. These insults were endured by the emperor, who was ever in a state of warfare, for six years; but, in 1541, he determined to make all other concerns subservient to his designs upon Algiers. His force, as in the former expedition, was collected at Cagliari, and consisting of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, which was composed of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, in addition to which 3,000 volunteers, an hundred knights of Malta, and 2,000 soldiers from that island, embarked. Doria again commanded the fleet. The expedition sat out very inauspiciously: Doria remonstrated against its being undertaken at so late a season of the year, on account of the tempestuous weather which was likely to be encountered, and the pope strongly urged the propriety of choosing a more favourable season; but neither the great skill of the one, nor the veneration attached to the other, could shake the fixed purpose of the em-

 peror.

peror. After having been much buffetted by tempests, the army made good its landing. Every thing then seemed to promise a speedy and entire conquest, but Haseen, who had retreated into the city with his comparatively small force, shewed no disposition to submit. On the second day after the troops were landed, a tremendous tempest arose toward evening, and the troops were exposed to its utmost violence during the whole night; the ground was rendered swampy, and no longer afforded solid footing, whilst cold, rain, and wind attacked them with united force. Early in the morning Haseen led out his whole force, consisting of no more than 800 Turks and 5,000 Moors, against these dispirited and almost defenceless invaders; for their fire-arms were rendered useless, and their limbs were so benumbed that they could scarcely avail themselves of any other kind of weapon, consequently much loss was sustained before the attack could be repelled, which was no sooner effected, than the deplorable condition of the fleet became manifest; 15 ships of war and 140 transports were lost, on board of which 8,000 men perished, and such as reached the shore were killed by the natives. It was not until the day following that intelligence of the existence of any part of the fleet reached the army, then, a dispatch from Doria conveyed intelligence, that he had brought the shattered remains of the fleet into a bay considerably to the westward; thither, however, the enfeebled and famished army were un-
der

der the neceſſity of marching; their ſufferings were extreme; many periſhed with hunger, many in the ſwollen ſtreams they were obliged to paſs over, and many by the ſwords of their purſuers. The emperor ſuſtained this heavy ſtroke of adverſity with true magnanimity of ſpirit; his aſſiduities were unremitted; he patiently ſubmitted to every ſuffering; and bravely oppoſed himſelf to every danger. A ſhort calm afforded an opportunity for the troops to embark, but then a ſtorm aroſe which ſeparated the enfeebled fleet, and each ſhip ſought its own ſafety in the firſt friendly port it could reach. In this forlorn condition the mighty monarch Charles V. who beſide Mexico, had juſt then added Peru to his vaſt empire, after ſome weeks, again ſat foot in Spain, ſeverely inſtructed in the vanity of human greatneſs.

It does not appear that Tunis was long held by the Spaniards, and the kingly title became ſuppreſſed both in that kingdom and in Algiers, the ſupreme authority being veſted in the dey, and the form of government may be deſcribed as a military ariſtocracy; but all the piratical ſtates continued to be parts of the Turkiſh empire, and a yearly ſubſidy was paid to the Porte for more than two centuries: it being ſo lately as the year 1767 that they threw off that ſubjection. Algiers firſt renounced this allegiance and dependence, by not only refuſing, in unqualified terms, to pay the arrears of tribute due to the grand ſignior, but avowed their determination not to admit any ſuch demand in future.

The city of Algiers has at different periods re-

ceived several hostile visits from the English. About the year 1620 Sir Robert Mansel was sent out from England with six men of war and twelve stout ships hired from the merchants. He arrived at Algiers, but neither negociation nor force procured any substantial redress. Two other fleets were afterward sent against them, one under lord Willoughby, the other under lord Denbigh, both of which did so little, that very few of our historians take any notice of them. The renowned Blake, in the year 1655, being in the Mediterranean, proceeded to Algiers, to demand satisfaction for the piracies committed on the English, and the release of all captives belonging to his nation. The dey expressed the most friendly disposition, and promised every redress in his power. From Algiers he sailed to Tunis, where meeting with a less civil reception, he attacked the goletta, and reduced it to a defenceless condition; after which, he burnt nine ships which lay in the road; this so terrified the inhabitants that they implored his mercy and sued for peace. He then sailed to Tripoli, where the terror of his name having preceded him, he concluded an advantageous peace with that government. In the year 1661 the earl of Sandwich was sent against Algiers to menace the dey for his infraction of the treaty which he had entered into with Blake. Not being able to obtain any concessions, he made an ineffectual attempt to set fire to the ships in the harbour, but leaving Sir John Lawson with a strong squadron to cruise off the port, so many of their ships were taken that they were at last compelled

pelled to enter into a treaty; which, however, like the former one, was not long observed. In the year 1669, a squadron commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, in conjunction with one from the states of Holland commanded by Van Ghent, sunk and destroyed many ships belonging to these pirates, and rescued a considerable number of Christian slaves. The next year Sir Edward Spragge was sent with a larger force on the same service, when he so effectually annoyed their shipping, that the Algerines, rendered desperate by their losses, rose, murdered their dey, and elected another, by whom a peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, which they observed better than the former ones. In the year 1749, the Prince Frederick packet-boat, bound from Lisbon to Falmouth, was taken by four Algerine cruisers, carried into Algiers, and plundered of effects to the amount of 25,000 pounds; and after being detained twenty-three days was suffered to depart. This outrage occasioned commodore Keppel (late lord Keppel) to be sent out with seven ships of war. He took on board certain presents for the dey, the forwarding of which had been neglected, and which that prince having been long accustomed to receive, laid claim to by prescription. Mr. Keppel arrived there in August, and had an audience of the dey, but could not obtain a restitution of the property.

In the year 1769 the emperor of Morocco besieged and took the city of Mazagan, from the Portuguese,

 and

and that same year entered into treaties with the courts of Spain and Portugal. In 1774 he entered into a league with the Algerines, to dispossess the Christian powers of the settlements held by them on the coasts of Africa, which caused the court of Madrid to declare war against him. Melilla and Penon de Veloz, places which the Spaniards hold on the coast of Morocco, were besieged by the emperor; but being bravely defended, they successfully resisted his attacks. At the commencement of the following year, the emperor declared war against the states-general of the United Provinces. The Dutch endeavoured to purchase the restoration of peace by sending presents to this prince, but in vain; the presents were accepted, but hostilities were not suspended. An accommodation afterward took place.

The Morocco prince, having failed in his attempts to possess himself of the Spanish forts, sent an embassy to Spain to treat of peace; but the court of Madrid prescribed, as the conditions, that the emperor should pay four millions of dollars for the expences of the war; should yield a tract of country round each of the fortifications which were held by the Spaniards on his coast; and surrender to Spain the port of Tetuan and the island of Magador. Such humiliating conditions, dictated whilst a formidable fleet was preparing to attack Algiers, were rejected with disdain by the Moorish prince, when the design upon that neighbouring state proved

abortive;

abortive: acts of hostility were afterward carried on at sea by the ships of the two powers for a considerable time.

In 1775, the king of Spain caused a formidable armament to be prepared, in order to chastise the Algerines for the depredations which their corsairs had committed on his subjects. The fleet destined for this expedition was fitted out at the ports of Carthagena, Cadiz, and Barcelona; at the former of which the whole force assembled, and thence, after being detained a month by contrary winds, sailed against Algiers, arriving in the bay the latter end of June. The fleet consisted of seven ships of the line of 74 guns each, eight ships of 40 guns, thirty-two frigates from 20 to 36 guns, and about twenty smaller armed vessels of different constructions, with 408 transports, having 19,000 seamen and marines: on board the transports were 22,000 foot, and 4,000 horse, consisting of the best troops in Spain, an artillery of 400 pieces of cannon, with 2,000 men to work the guns. This formidable fleet and army were provided with vast quantities of stores and provisions. The marine was under the command of Don Pedro Castegon, and the land forces under count O'Reilly, a native of Ireland, who had been long in the service of Spain, and enjoyed the particular favour of the sovereign. Such a force seemed to menace the reduction of all the piratical states of Barbary. Eight days elapsed before the troops were landed, and the attack was then

made

made in a desultory and injudicious manner; no regular design or plan of operations appeared to have been settled between the general and admiral, but great dissension and animosity prevailed. The deeply-rooted antipathy which subsists between the Spaniards and Moors caused each to be eager for action; but the first attack was made upon very unequal terms: whilst the Spaniards advanced through a close country, exposed to the full effect of the enemies fire, the Moors lay protected behind trees and enclosures, from which no efforts could dislodge them. This destructive conflict was maintained for thirteen hours: at length the Spaniards became dispirited, and a precipitate retreat ensued. Great numbers of wounded were left on the field of battle to satiate the vengeance of their barbarous enemies, who put all to death without mercy that fell into their hands. As soon as it was dark, the Spanish army re-embarked in such confusion, that had they been opposed by a skilful enemy, very few would have regained the ships, and the most entire defeat would have ensued: but the unskilfulness of the Algerines in military operations prevented them from improving the opportunity. The disgrace and loss which had befallen the Spanish arms in this attack, had effectually cooled their military ardour; and all thoughts of any farther attempts to retrieve the honour of the nation, and effectuate the purposes of the expedition, were laid aside. In four days after, a great part of the fleet, with all the land forces, sailed

back

back to Spain. The misconduct and disgrace attending this expedition was generally imputed to the Count de O'Reilly: the loss sustained in it, as given by authority, amounted to twenty-seven officers killed, one hundred and ninety-one wounded; five hundred and one men killed, two thousand and eighty-eight wounded; but private computations estimated the loss at about five thousand. *Dalrymple's Travels*, p. 177.

In the year 1784 another expedition was set on foot, by the court of Madrid, against this place; the chief command of which was entrusted to admiral Don Antonio Barcelo. Eight successive attacks were made, with great spirit and bravery, on the forts which defend the entrance of the harbour; but they were repelled with equal intrepidity by the Algerines. Some parts of the city were set on fire, but the injuries which the Spanish fleet sustained were much greater than the annoyance which it gave the enemy; and the attempt to destroy Algiers was in the result found to be impracticable.

The Venetians, in the year 1785, sent out a fleet under the command of the chevalier Emo, against the city of Tunis, which greatly annoyed that capital, and hostilities are still continued.

The commerce of the American states has suffered very considerably from the captures made by these corsairs, particularly those ships which visit the Mediterranean; and the Portuguese having very lately concluded a treaty with the Algerines, their

men

men of war, which constantly cruised about the gut of Gibraltar, for the purpose of preventing the Algerine corsairs from sailing out of the Mediterranean, were withdrawn: those pirates, therefore, now proceed into the Atlantic, in search of American vessels, and have actually captured several.

"These pirates," says the Abbé Raynal, "have reduced the greatest powers of Europe to the disgrace of making them annual presents, which, under whatever name they are disguised, are in fact a tribute. They have sometimes been punished and humbled, but their rapines have never been totally suppressed." *Hist. Pol. liv.* xi.

It is an object worthy the attention of all the powers of Europe, especially the maritime, to free themselves from the insolence of these rovers, that their subjects may thereby be protected in their persons and goods, from the hands of rapine and violence, their coasts secured from insults and descents, and their ships from capture on the sea. The conquest could not be attended with any great difficulty, if the English, Dutch, French, and Spaniards would unite to join their forces and fleets, and fall upon them in separate bodies, and in several places at the same time. The general benefit of commerce would immediately follow, by settling the government of the sea-coast towns in the hands and possession of the several united powers; so that every one should possess them, in proportion to the forces employed in the conquering them; the consequence of such

such success would soon be sensibly felt by the conquerors; for as the quantity of productions fitted for the use of merchandize is found to be considerable even now, under the indolence and sloth of the most barbarous people in the world, how much might all those valuable articles be supposed to increase by the industry and skilfulness of the diligent Europeans, especially the English, French, and Dutch? We might also reasonably suppose that the Moors, being in consequence of such a conquest driven into the interior country, and being obliged to seek their subsistence by honest labour and application, would at length be induced to increase the product, and, as multitudes of Christians would be encouraged by the advantages to be derived from the soil and climate to settle on the coasts, the manufactures and merchandize of Europe could not fail of finding a great additional consumption; the many new ports and harbours which those Christian nations might construct would be so many new markets for the sale of those manufactures, and the spirit of commerce would have an ample territory on which to expatiate.

The Abbé Raynal expresses himself with his usual spirit on this occasion. "To what people," says he, "is reserved the glory of breaking those fetters which Africa is thus insensibly preparing for us, and of removing those terrors which are so formidable to navigation? No nation can attempt it alone; perhaps, if it did, the jealousy of the rest would throw secret obstacles in its way. This must therefore be the work of a general combination. All the maritime

time powers ought to concur in the execution of a design in which all are equally interested. These states, which every thing invites to mutual alliance, good-will, and defence, ought to be weary of the calamities which they reciprocally bring upon each other. After having so frequently formed leagues for their mutual destruction, let them at length take up arms for their general security: war would then, for once at least, become beneficial and just; and one may venture to assert that such a war would be of no long continuance, if it were conducted with skill and unanimity. Perhaps this most noble and the greatest of enterprizes, would cost Europe less blood and treasure than the most trivial of those quarrels with which it is continually agitated. The jealousy of the great maritime powers, who have constantly rejected all expedients for securing the navigation of Europe from the depredations of freebooters, hath been the chief cause of its continuance. The hope of checking the industry of every weak state, hath accustomed them to wish, that these piracies of Barbary should continue, and hath even induced them to abet the plunderers. This is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would never have incurred if their discernment had been equal to their rapacity. All Christendom would certainly profit by this happy change, but the greatest advantages must infallibly accrue to the maritime states, in proportion to their power. Their situation, the safety of their navigation, the greatness of their capitals, and various other

advantages

advantages which they possess, would secure them such superiority. "However," adds that humane philosopher, "if the reduction and subjection of Barbary would not become a source of happiness to those people as well as to ourselves; if we must keep up and perpetuate slavery and poverty amongst them; if fanaticism can still renew those detestable crusades, which philosophy, too late, has consigned to the indignation of all ages; if Africa must at length become the scene of our cruelties as Asia and America have been, and still are, may the project which humanity hath dictated be buried in perpetual oblivion! It is indifferent whether they be Christians or Mussulmans who suffer: man is the only object worthy to interest man." *Hist. Pol. liv.* xi.

CHAP. XI.

The discovery of the WEST INDIES.

MANKIND owe the discovery of the western world to the gold, the silver, the precious stones, the spices, silks, and costly manufactures, of the East; and even these incentives were, for a considerable time, insufficient to prompt to the undertaking, although the most skilful navigator of the age proffered to risk his life in the attempt.

That wonderful property communicated to the needle by the loadstone, which constitutes its polarity, had been discovered about an hundred and seventy years before any navigator was found hardy enough to cross the equinoxial line, and the Portuguese were the first to achieve it. The property of the *loadstone* or *magnet*, to attract iron, was well known to the ancients, and appears to have excited their astonishment. Cicero speaks of it as such an incredible fact, as could not be believed if it was not demonstrably proved, (*de Divinatione, lib.* i. *sect.* 39.) Lucretius likewise speaks of this wonderful magnetic quality; and Pliny, the naturalist, employs a whole chapter

chapter on this ſtone, called by the ancients *magnes*, which chapter he introduces by ſaying, "what can be more wonderful! or in what part of Nature is there any thing more improbable!" *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *cap.* 16. But to what an height would the wonder of the ancients have been raiſed, could they have had the foreknowledge, that, in future times, another property ſhould be found in this operative ſubſtance, by which an inſtrument would be obtained capable of directing daring mortals, through oceans of an inconceivable extent, and of giving them acceſs to every part of the globe! "The compaſs," to adopt the words of an able writer, "may be ſaid to have opened to man the dominion of the ſea, and to have put him in full poſſeſſion of the earth, by enabling him to viſit every part of it. Flavio Gioia, a citizen of Amalfi, a town of conſiderable trade in the kingdom of Naples, was the author of this great diſcovery, about the year 1302. It hath often been the fate of thoſe illuſtrious benefactors of mankind, who have enriched ſcience and improved the arts by their inventions, to derive more reputation than benefit from the happy efforts of their genius: but the lot of Gioia has been ſtill more cruel: through the inattention or ignorance of contemporary hiſtorians, he has been defrauded even of the fame to which he had ſuch a juſt title. We receive from them no information with reſpect to his profeſſion, his character, the preciſe time when he made this important diſcovery, and the accidents and inquiries which led to it: the knowledge of

this event, though productive of greater effects than any recorded in the annals of the human race, is transmitted to us without any of those circumstances which can gratify the curiosity which it naturally awakened." *Robertson's History of America*, i. 36. *Collenas & Trombellus de Acus nauticæ Inventore, Instit. Acad. Bonon, tom.* ii. *pars* iii. p. 372.

Christopher Columbus, who was destined to the high honour of revealing a new hemisphere to Europeans, was by birth a Genoese, who had been early trained to a seafaring life, and, having acquired every branch of knowledge connected with that profession, was no less distinguished by his skill and abilities, than for his intrepid and persevering spirit. This man, when about forty years of age, had formed the great idea of reaching the East Indies by sailing westward; but, as his fortune was very small, and the attempt required very effectual patronage, desirous that his native country should profit by his success, he laid his plan before the senate of Genoa, but the scheme appearing chimerical, it was rejected. He then repaired to the court of Portugal; and although the Portuguese were at that time distinguished for their commercial spirit, and John II. who then reigned, was a discerning and enterprising prince, yet the prepossessions of the great men in his court, to whom the matter was referred, caused Columbus finally to fail in his attempt there also. He next applied to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Arragan and Castile, and at the same time sent his brother

Bartho-

Bartholomew (who followed the same profession, and who was well qualified to fill the immediate place under such a leader) to England, to lay the proposal before Henry VII. which likewise, very fortunately for the future well being of the country, met with no success. Many were the years which Christopher Columbus spent upon ineffectual attendance at the Castilian court; the impoverished state into which the finances of the united kingdoms were reduced, by the war with Granada, repressing every disposition to attempt great designs; but the war being at length terminated, the powerful mind of Isabella broke through all obstacles; she declared herself the patroness of Columbus, whilst her husband Ferdinand, declining to partake as an adventurer in the voyage, only gave it the sanction of his name. Thus did the superior genius of a woman effect the discovery of one half of the globe!

The ships sent out on this important search were only three in number, two of them very small: they had ninety men on board. Although the expense of the expedition had long remained the sole obstacle to its being undertaken, yet, when every thing was provided, the cost did not amount to more than 4000*l.* and there were provisions for twelve months put on board.

Columbus set sail from port Palos, in the province of Andalusia, on the 3d of August 1492: he proceeded to the Canary islands, and thence directed his course due W. in the latitude of about twenty-

 eight

eight degrees N. In this course he continued for two months, without falling in with any land; which caused such a spirit of discontent and mutiny to arise among his seamen, as the superior address and management of the commander became unequal to repress, although for these qualities he was eminently distinguished. At length he was reduced to the necessity of entering into a solemn engagement to abandon the enterprise, and return home, if land did not appear in three days. Probably he would not have been able to restrain his people so long from acts of violence and outrage, in pursuing so untried and dreary a course, had they not been sensible that their safety in returning home, depended very much on his skill as a navigator in conducting the vessels.

Columbus put little to the hazard by this stipulation, for unquestionable indications of land being near had appeared: flocks of land-birds, which were incapable of stretching far out to sea, were seen; branches of trees, and canes newly cut, were taken up, with a piece of carved timber; and to confirm this hope, the ships were come into soundings.

At length the appearance of land changed their despondency to the most exulting rapture. It was an island abounding with inhabitants, both sexes of which were quite naked; their manners kind, gentle, and unsuspecting. Columbus named it San Salvador; it is one of the cluster which bears the general name of Bahama; it was only three degrees, thirty minutes

minutes latitude to the S. of the island of Gomera, one of the Canaries from which he took his departure. This navigator was still so confirmed in the opinion which he had formed before he undertook the voyage, that he believed himself to be then upon an island which was situated adjacent to the Indies. Proceeding to the S. he saw three other islands, which he named St. Mary of the Conception, Fernandina, and Isabella. At length he arrived at a very large island, and as he had taken seven of the natives of San Salvador on board, he learned from them that it was called Cuba, but he gave it the name of Juanna. He next proceeded to an island which he called Espagnola, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed, and it still bears the name of Hispaniola. Here he built a fort and formed a small settlement. He then returned home, having on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands: steering a more southern course, he fell in with some of the Caribbee islands; and arrived at the port of Palos on the 15th March 1493, having been seven months eleven days on this most important voyage.

On his arrival, letters patent were issued by the king and queen confirming to Columbus and to his heirs all the privileges contained in a capitulation which had been executed before his departure, and his family was ennobled.

Not only the Spaniards, but the other nations

of Europe, ſeem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus, in conſidering the countries which he had diſcovered as a part of India. Whence Ferdinand and Iſabella gave them the name of "Indies," in the ratification of their former agreement with Columbus. Even after the error was detected, the name was retained, and the appellation of "Weſt Indies" is now given by all Europe to this country, and that of Indians to the inhabitants. That the Eaſt Indies might be reached by a weſtern courſe was proved not long after by Magellan; the only error, therefore imputable to Columbus, is his ſuppoſing them ſo near to Europe, in that direction, which implies that he had no accurate idea of the circumference of the globe; as ſuch an opinion was founded on its ſpherical form. It is indeed remarkable, how many of the conjectures which have been made, and opinions formed, by the moſt intelligent and enlightened of mankind, in all ages, reſpecting the globe, have been found to be erroneous when experiment has ſubſtituted fact for opinion. A ſtriking inſtance is in the ſuppoſed exiſtence of a *terra auſtralis incognita*, which, when inveſtigated by Captain Cook, vaniſhed like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion. The opinion of a northern paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, whether by an eaſtern, or a weſtern courſe, was no leſs believed, and is now, no leſs confuted; for although it ſeems highly probable that no land lies in the high northern latitudes, yet a barrier, equally

equally impenetrable, is formed by the immense expanse of ice which ever occupies the polar regions: but to return.

Nothing could possibly tend more effectually to rouse every active principle in human nature, than the discoveries which Columbus had made; no time was therefore lost, nor expence spared, in preparing a fleet of ships, with which this great man should revisit the countries he had made known. Seventeen ships were got ready in six months, and fifteen hundred persons embarked on board them, among whom were many of noble families, and who had filled honourable stations. These engaged in the enterprise from the expectation that the new discovered country was either the Cipango of Marco Paulo, now known to be the island of Japan, or the Ophir, from which Solomon obtained his gold and precious merchandize.

Ferdinand, now desirous of securing what before he had been unwilling to venture for the obtaining, applied to the pope to be invested with a right in these new-discovered countries, as well as to all future discoveries in that direction; but as it was necessary that there should be some favour of religion in the business, he founded his plea on a desire of converting the savage natives to the Romish faith. Alexander VI. who then filled the papal chair, it ought to be premised, was the most profligate and abandoned of men: being a native of Arragon, and desirous of conciliating the favour of Ferdinand, for

the purpose of aggrandizing his family, he readily granted a request which, at no expence or risk, tended to extend the consequence and authority of the papacy: he therefore bestowed on Ferdinand and Isabella "all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover;" but as it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with one not long before made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line, supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, should serve as a limit between them; and in the plenitude of his power, conferred all to the E. of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the W. of it upon the Spaniards.

Columbus sat sail on his second voyage from the port of Cadiz, on the 25th of September 1493; when he arrived at Espagniola, he had the affliction to find that all the Spaniards whom he had left there, amounting to thirty-six in number, had been put to death by the natives, in revenge for the insults and outrages which they had committed upon them.

After having traced out the plan of a town, to be built in a large plain, near a spacious bay, and given it the name of Isabella, in honour of his patroness the queen of Castile, and appointed his brother, Don Diego, to preside as deputy governor in his absence, Columbus, on the 24th of April 1494, sailed, with one ship and two small barks, to make farther discoveries in those seas. In this voyage he was employed

ployed five months, and fell in with many small islands on the coast of Cuba, but with nothing of any importance except the island of Jamaica.

Soon after his return to Hispaniola, he resolved to make war upon the Indians, who, according to the Spanish historians, amounted to 100,000 men; these having experienced every lawless act of violence from their invaders, were rendered extremely inveterate, and thirsted for revenge; a disposition which appears to have been foreign to their natures. Having collected his full force, he attacked them by night, whilst they were assembled in a wide plain, and obtained a most decisive victory, without the loss of one man on his part. Beside the effect of cannon and fire arms, the noise of which was appalling, and their effect, against a numerous body of Indians, closely drawn together, in the highest degree destructive, Columbus had brought over with him a small body of cavalry. The Indians, who had never before seen such a creature, imagined the Spanish horses to be rational beings, and that each with its rider formed but one animal: they were astonished at their speed, and considered their impetuosity and strength as irresistible. In this onset they had beside another formidable enemy to terrify and destroy them: a great number of the largest and fiercest species of dogs which were then bred in Europe, had been brought hither, which, set on by their masters, rushed upon the Indians with the fierceness of savage beasts, and, wherever they came, the miserable

natives

natives threw down their weapons, without attempting resistance, and fled with all the speed which terror could excite. Numbers were slain, and more made prisoners, who were indiscriminately consigned to slavery. Dr. Robertson says, upon the authority of a MS. in his possession, that five hundred of these captives were sent (or rather brought by Columbus) to Spain, and sold publicly in Seville as slaves. *History of America, 4to. edition, vol.* I. *note* xx. *p.* 440.

The character of Columbus stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance, as no impediments, dangers, or sufferings, could shake, but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue. His second son Ferdinand, who wrote the life of his father, apologizes for this severity toward the natives, on account of the distressed state into which the colony was brought: the change of climate, and the indispensable labours which were required of men unaccustomed to any exertions, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers, and the survivors were declining daily, whilst such was the irreconcileable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circumspect conduct on the part of the Spaniards, would not have been effectual to regain their good will. This apology seems to have been generally admitted, for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discoverer of the new world the warmest commendation unmixed with censure. It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted

merit,

merit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and extirpation to a man revered for moral worth; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions can only originate in weak minds, and can be countenanced only by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny into facts, can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character. That Columbus had formed a design of waging offensive war against the Indians, and reducing them to slavery, before he entered upon his second voyage, and consequently, before he was apprized of the destruction of the people which he had left upon the island of Hispaniola, may be inferred from his providing himself with such a number of fierce and powerful dogs. Having found the natives peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that they would commence unprovoked hostilities; the cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and veneration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind and equitable deportment; but to treat them as a free people was inconsistent with the views which led to planting a colony, for as the grand incentive to undertake these distant voyages was the hope of acquiring gold, so, as Columbus had seen some worn as ornaments by the natives, and had been informed that the mountainous parts of the country yielded that precious metal, he had excited expecta-

tions in his employers, and in the nation at large, which both his intereſt and ambition compelled him as far as poſſible to realize: the Spaniards could not obtain gold without the aſſiſtance of the natives, and theſe were ſo conſtitutionally indolent that no allurements of preſents or gratifications could excite them to labour. To reſcue himſelf therefore from diſgrace, and to ſecure future ſupport, he ſeems deliberately to have devoted a harmleſs race of men to ſlaughter or ſlavery. Such as ſurvived the maſſacre of that dreadful day, and preſerved their freedom, fled into the mountainous and inacceſſible parts of the iſland, which not yielding them ſufficient means of ſubſiſtence, they were compelled to obtain a portion of food from their cruel purſuers, by procuring gold duſt, in order to ſupport life; a tribute being impoſed upon them which was rigorouſly exacted. Theſe wretched remains of a free people, thus driven from fruitfulneſs and amenity; compelled to labour for the ſupport of life; a prey to deſpondency, which the recollection of their former happineſs ſharpened, and which their hopeleſs ſituation rendered inſupportable, died in great numbers, the innocent, but unrevenged victims to European avarice. Such are the facts which have ever been admitted, yet, ſtrange contradiction! Columbus is celebrated for his humanity and goodneſs! but ſhould he not rather be conſidered as a moſt conſummate diſſembler; profeſſing moderation whilſt he meditated ſubverſion? and, like moſt of the heroes and conquerors whom hiſ-

tory records, renouncing every principle of justice and humanity when they stopped the career of his ambition? Ferdinand Columbus, his son and biographer, has with great address covered the shame of his father, whilst the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendour of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles.

When Columbus returned to Spain from his second voyage, he found that his enemies had been very active and successful in impressing Ferdinand and Isabella with unfavourable sentiments of his conduct; but he so far recovered his credit, that a squadron of six ships was fitted out, with which he proceeded on a third voyage, on the 30th of May 1498. Taking a more southern course, he discovered the island of Trinidad, on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the great river Oronoko. The swell occasioned by this vast river pouring its waters into the ocean was so great, as to expose the ships to extreme danger, but after long combating the currents and tremendous waves with doubtful success, he conducted his squadron safe through a narrow strait, which separates that island from the continent; this he called, "Bocca del Drago," the dragon's mouth. He justly concluded, that such a vast body of water must flow through a country of immense extent, and that he was now arrived at that continent which it had long been the object of his wishes to discover. Full of that idea he stood to the West, along the coast of those provinces now known by

the names of Paria and Comana. He landed in several places, and had some intercourse with the natives, who resembled those of Hispaniola in their appearance and manner of life. "Thus," says Dr. Robertson, "Columbus had not only the glory of discovering to mankind the existence of a new world, but made considerable progress toward a perfect knowledge of it, and was the first man who conducted the Spaniards to that vast continent which has been the chief seat of their empire, and the source of their treasures in that quarter of the globe." *History of America*, I. p. 140.

He afterward directed his course to Hispaniola, and on quitting the continental coast fell in with the small island of Cubagua, and the larger one called Margarita, not far distant: these afterward became remarkable for their pearl fishery.

The enemies of Columbus having at length destroyed all his credit with Ferdinand and Isabella, Francis de Boyadilla, a knight of Calatravia, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to inquire into his conduct. This commission Bovadilla exercised in the most arbitrary and severe manner; for, without having recourse even to the form of a judicial inquiry, he divested Columbus of all authority, and, putting him in chains, sent him a prisoner to Spain: but the authority thus exercised was not long held; Bovadilla was superseded, and the government given to Ovando, who, however, proved in the sequel to be but little less inimical

mical to Columbus. Although this violent conduct was not approved by the king and queen, who endeavoured, by outward marks of attention and respect, to wipe off the ignominy which had been cast upon the discoverer of America, yet it is probable he would never have prevailed upon them to assist him in undertaking a fourth voyage, had it not been for the discovery made by the Portuguese, of sailing to the East Indies by doubling the Cape of Good Hope; but as it had ever been his firm belief, that the country which he had discovered was not far from the East Indies, and that there was a more direct way thither, by the route which he had struck out, he prevailed upon his noble patrons to assist him in ascertaining this important point: he had, however, only four small barks assigned him; the largest not more than seventy tons burden. In this expedition he was accompanied by his brother Don Bartholomew, and his second son Don Ferdinand, who afterward wrote his life.

He sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1502, but without being invested with any authority in the country which he had discovered. When he arrived at Hispaniola, he found Ovando little inclined to afford him assistance; he therefore soon quitted that island, and steering toward the continent, explored all the coast from Cape Gracias a Dios southward, until he arrived at a harbour, which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. Whilst thus coasting he went ashore at several places, and sometimes

ſometimes proceeded up the country, but did not penetrate ſo far as to croſs the iſthmus which ſeparates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean. It was his deſign to have ſettled a colony to the W. of Porto Bello; but this ſcheme was ſo much diſreliſhed by his people that he could not effect it, and he was therefore deprived of the glory of planting the firſt colony on the continent of America. He afterward ſuffered many hardſhips, chiefly from the neglect of Ovando, and ſoon after his return to Spain his great patroneſs Iſabella, queen of Caſtile, died; but this moſt able navigator did not long ſurvive her, he dying at Valladolid, on the 20th of May 1506, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The CONQUEST of MEXICO.

THE important discoveries which had been made by Columbus, excited in the Spaniards a restless spirit of enterprise. Ferdinand alone imbibed no portion of that ardour which inspired his subjects; therefore, instead of prosecuting discoveries at his own expence, he chose rather to grant his license to private adventurers, who were willing to embark their fortunes in such pursuits. In the year 1499, some merchants of Seville entered into a partnership with Alonso Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, to undertake discoveries and traffic with the natives, in that part of the southern continent, which Columbus had coasted, and in some parts had landed upon. They obtained the royal license for this undertaking, and Fonsica, bishop of Badajos, who was president of the council of India, patronized the scheme, and furnished the commander with the journal which Columbus had made, during his voyage to those parts, together with his charts.

 The

The second in command was Americus Vespucius, a Florentine; well born, of good abilities, and considerable maritime knowledge, although entirely inexperienced in the new navigation. They proceeded to the coast of Paria, and sailed westward to Cape de Vela. Little advantage was derived to the adventurers by this undertaking, and no new country traced; but Americus Vespucius drew up a narrative of the voyage in so entertaining a manner, that the novelty of the subject caused it to be universally read: new productions of nature, new animals, and a new race of men were brought into notice. His assuming consequence was so artfully managed that the world was led to consider him as the discoverer of that continent, part of which he had described: thus was the unquestionable right of the Genoese navigator superceded by the artful, unfounded pretensions of the Florentine; and although utterly unmerited, procured him immortality; by causing the whole continent, extending through all climates, and over more than an hundred degrees of latitude, to obtain the name of AMERICA. Columbus was absent on his fourth voyage, when Americus thus artfully supplanted him, but he lived seven years after; so that he had the mortification to see the imposture succeed in giving name to a country, which ought unquestionably to have born that of COLUMBIA. But the persecutions and indignities which he suffered in his latter years; the personal indignities which he received, and the arbitrary refusal of Ferdinand and

his

his ministers to invest him with those powers and privileges, which, by the original contract he had a right to claim, so occupied his attention, and harassed his mind, that he could scarcely extend his views to thus immortalizing his name.

Ojeda and Americus Vespucius soon after made a second voyage, in which they proceeded more to the westward; but the talents of Americus appear to have been better fitted to impose upon mankind than to effect great matters, or even to acquire wealth; for that voyage, like the former, proved unprofitable; whilst Alonso Nigno, another navigator trained under Columbus, about the same time, made a very lucrative voyage to the coast of Paria.

Ogeda, not discouraged by two unprofitable voyages, entered on a third, having been appointed by Ferdinand, governor of the continental country from Cape Gracias a Dios to Cape Vela. On this enterprise Americus did not embark. Diego de Nicuessa, who had acquired a large fortune at Hispaniola, obtained, at the same time, the appointment of governor of all the country from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien.

Ojeda and his party took possession of the country in the most hostile manner. This outrage was rendered the more execrable by the pretext of religion, with which it was sanctioned. To a race of men with whom there was no common medium of language, Ojeda delivered a formal declaration, announcing to them the universal power of the Pope

over all the world, and requiring them to believe every thing which he prefcribed. In order to give their title to thofe countries fome appearance of validity, feveral of the moft eminent divines and lawyers in Spain were employed to prefcribe the mode in which they fhould take poffeffion of them. "There is not in the hiftory of mankind," fays Dr. Robertfon, "any thing more fingular or extravagant than the form which they devifed for this purpofe." *Hift. of America*, I. 272. 8*vo Ed.* He likewife gives the form employed on this occafion; which, he fays, ferved as a model to the Spaniards in all their fubfequent conquefts of America. *See the fame volume*, p. 382. The people of that country, however, poffeffed the means of refifting fuch papal and regal impofitions; they were expert in the ufe of miffile weapons; the points of their arrows were fteeped in a ftrongly envenomed poifon. More than feventy of Ojeda's followers were flain in one attack; and the reception which Nicueffa met with was equally unfavourable. At length a feeble fettlement was formed at Santa Maria, near the gulf of Darien, under the command of Vafco Nugnes de Balboa. This man appears to have blended more humanity with the fpirit of enterprife in his conduct, than any other Spaniard in the courfe of thefe inhuman proceedings. He treated the natives of the country in general, the cafiques, or princes, in particular, with kindnefs and liberality; and he gained his recompenfe; for they informed him

of

of a rich country to the ſouth-eaſt, and of a vaſt body of water beyond it.

In the year 1513, Balboa ſat out on this important expedition, attended by 190 men, and a dozen Indians, who ſerved as guides. With immenſe labour and perſeverance he travelled over the mountains, thickly covered with wood, for twenty-five days, when he arrived in ſight of a mountain, which the Indians, who were his guides, aſſured him would, on its ſummit, bring to view a great ſea. Thus ſtimulated, all difficulties were ſurmounted, and the whole party had aſcended nearly to the top, when Balboa called to halt, and proceeding alone to the utmoſt height, was the firſt European who beheld that expanſive body of water, now named "the Pacific Ocean." No ſooner had he beheld that rapturous ſight, than falling on his knees, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a diſcovery ſo beneficial to his country, and ſo honourable to himſelf. Theſe ſtrong ſenſations gratified, he deſcended to the ſhore, and took poſſeſſion of the vaſt deep in the name of the king his maſter. The ſpot on which this diſcovery was thus made, is now called "the gulf of St. Michael, or Miguel."

Columbus entertained a fixed opinion that a great ſea lay to the weſtward of the newly diſcovered continent, by means of which the Eaſt Indies might be reached; and he actually prevailed upon the cautious Ferdinand to ſend him out expreſly to ſearch for it.

He proceeded to the isthmus of Darien, and attempted to effect his purpose from Porto Bello; but not being able to obtain either information or assistance from the natives; finding the woods impenetrable, and the mountains inaccessible in the direction which he had taken; these insuperable obstacles compelled him to relinquish his design, although his opinion remained unshaken: and it was only six years after his death that it was proved to be just; and it then appeared that he had chosen the very spot, where the boundary between the two great oceans, the Atlantic and Pacific, was contracted to its narrowest limit.

The reduction of the extensive island of Cuba had been undertaken and effected by the Spaniards, from motives the most inhuman and iniquitous which could actuate human depravity, a short time before this excursion of Balboa's took place.

It appears that the natives of Hispaniola were nearly exterminated in the course of about eighteen years. When Columbus discovered Hispaniola, the number of inhabitants on that island, according to *Herrera, decad* I. *lib*. x. *c*. 12. was computed to be at least a million! In consequence of the want of slaves to work the mines, it was proposed to the principal Spaniards on the island, by the governor, to attempt the conquest of Cuba. This governor was Don Diego Columbus, second son of Christopher, who had obtained the government of that island, which was withheld from his father by the injustice

of

of Ferdinand; but his son, to whom, on the death of his father, the right devolved, was bold enough to bring his cause before the council which managed Indian affairs; which court, with a firm and impartial adherence to justice, decreed in favour of the claimant against the king. Nothing can more forcibly instance the delusions which beguile the human mind, and contract its views, so as to render it incapable of uniform and universal rectitude of conduct, than that the very men who composed the court in which justice was so duly rendered to Diego Columbus, should permit the violation of every principle of justice, which was systematically committed upon millions of the human race in another hemisphere.

Don Diego Velasquez commanded the troops for this service; he took with him no more three hundred men, which proved to be a sufficient force to effect the purpose. One casique only, who was named Hatuay, and who had fled from Hispaniola, opposed their landing; but his followers were dispersed and himself taken prisoner. The perverted notions of the Spaniards caused them to consider him as a slave who had taken arms against his masters, and condemned him to the flames. To aggravate the sufferings of the dying Indian, a Franciscan friar exhorted him to embrace the Romish faith and to receive baptism; assuring him that he would then be immediately admitted into the joys of heaven. Hatuay asked, with much earnestness, "if there

were any Spaniards there?" The friar replied, "that there were, but only ſuch as were worthy and good." "There is no worth or goodneſs in the very beſt," replied the manly ſufferer; "I will not go to a place, where I ſhall meet with one of that accurſed race." So ſaying, he reſigned himſelf to his fate. From the wretched natives of this iſland, the Spaniards on Hiſpaniola received freſh ſupplies of ſlaves. The Lucayos, or Bahama iſlands, had provided Hiſpaniola with 40,000 Indians, who had been trepanned from eaſe and independence on their native ſoil, by the infernal blandiſhments of the Spaniards; who repreſented to theſe unſuſpected innocents, that they came from the country of delight where their departed anceſtors reſided, by whom they were ſent, to invite their living poſterity to participate in the joys of their renovated exiſtence. Moſt pitiable of deluded beings! when the heart glowed with rapturous expectation, thus to be conſigned to bondage, toil, ſtripes, and deſpair; to a ſtate of mind which perhaps extinguiſhed in them all expectation of

> Some ſafer world in depth of woods embrac'd,
> Some happier iſland in the watry waſte;
> Where ſlaves once more their native land behold,
> No fiends torment, no Chriſtians thirſt for gold.

Porto Rico had been likewiſe invaded for the purpoſe of enſlaving its inhabitants.

Had a party of lawleſs free booters, ſuch as the Buccaneers who ſucceeded, invaded theſe countries and

and attacked the natives, for the purpose of seizing upon all the gold and pearls which rapine could acquire, and making slaves of the people, all the world would have execrated the act, and absolved human nature from the infamy annexed to it, by pleading that the perpetrators were outcasts from society: but the Spaniards, who thus violated all laws divine and human, had among them men, in whose veins some of the noble blood of Spain flowed; not a few were Castilians, who valued themselves upon their good faith and inviolate honour: yet avarice extinguished every principle of humanity; and superstition, every just sense of religion. Such was the atrocity of their conduct, that they even made that sacred name the pretext of their outrageous enormities, whilst the papal and regal powers sanctioned the horrid profanation: but his apostolic holiness of Rome did not confine the perversion of his power to this flagrant instance in the new world, for, about the same time, a traffic was set on foot, or rather revived on a more extensive scale, which consisted in granting indulgences for all manner of sins, according to the enormity of which the price was rated. So confident was the papacy of its irresistible power over the human mind, that it dared to offer the grossest insult to common sense, and even decency, by putting darkness for light.

Although the treatment which the Indians received was, in conformity to this infallible head, disregarded by the dignitaries of the Romish church, yet the Dominican

Dominican monks settled at Hispaniola could not extinguish the feelings of humanity, or pervert their sacred function, but openly inveighed against the practice of enslaving the natives. Montesius, one of their most eloquent preachers, strongly reprobated it from the pulpit, and was supported by all the religious of his order: whilst the Franciscan monks, who were ever at variance with the Dominicans, palliated a practice, which they dared not avowedly to justify. Among the clergy on the island, another man arose, who possessing a heart glowing with humanity, became the zealous, the able, and the undaunted pleader and intercessor in behalf of the groaning Indians. The name of this exalted philanthropist was Las Casas, who finding all his endeavours fruitless on that island, embarked for Spain, solely for the purpose of laying before Ferdinand and the council for India the case of that devoted race of men. He gained an audience of the king, who, at that time, was in a very declining state of health. He pleaded the cause of humanity with all that freedom and force of eloquence which the strong feelings of his heart, and importance of the cause inspired. He even presumed to charge the king with being the cause of the misery and desolation which had overspread the new world, by authorizing the impious measure of subjecting the natives to slavery, when Providence had placed this numerous and inoffensive race of men under his protection. Ferdinand, who considered his death approaching, was much impressed

with

with a ſenſe of the impiety ſo directly imputed to him, which, in the inſenſibility attendant on health, would have been totally diſregarded; he promiſed Las Caſas, that he would pay ſerious attention to the cauſe of the poor Indians; but he died ſoon after. Las Caſas then determined to apply to prince Charles of Auſtria, the ſucceſſor of Ferdinand, who was in the Low Countries; but cardinal Ximenes, who governed as regent, ſo far attended to his repreſentations, that meaſures were taken to render the treatment of the Indians leſs ſevere, and their condition leſs wretched. Theſe palliatives, however, were far from contenting Las Caſas; who inſiſted that the natives ought to obtain an entire emancipation: their indolence and incapacity, which were pleaded as requiring them to be held in a ſtate of bondage, he maintained, might be more effectually removed by kindneſs, and equitable treatment; to exemplify which, he ſtrenuouſly laboured to obtain a grant of a diſtrict of land, for the purpoſe of ſettling a colony on the continent of South America, which ſhould be compoſed of huſbandmen and mechanics from Spain; to ſtrengthen and increaſe which, the natives ſhould be invited to become incorporated, by holding out to them a common participation of benefits. At length he obtained a grant of country, extending three hundred miles, along the coaſt of Cumana; and he engaged, in the ſpace of three years, to civilize ten thouſand of the natives. Notwithſtanding the great reputation which his benevolent exertions

 had

had procured him, he could gain no patronage from the men of wealth and influence in Spain, and could procure him only two hundred labourers and artificers to embark with. The ſpot aſſigned having been previouſly viſited by ſome Spaniards from the iſlands, who had treated the natives with their wonted barbarity, their reſentment was ſo rouſed, that no profeſſions of kindneſs and good-will could effect a reconciliation, ſo that the attempt to ſettle a colony in order to promote the general good of the whole, unhappily miſcarried: but the practicability of the plan has ſince been proved by the ſettlement which the Jeſuits made at Paraguay, where the Indians, by being inſtructed and employed, were formed into ſocieties, and rendered devout, orderly, induſtrious, and happy.

While theſe things were tranſacting on the iſlands of the Weſt Indies, ſtill more important diſcoveries were ſucceſsfully attempted on the continent. Balboa, immediately upon his having aſcertained the exiſtence of the great Pacific Ocean, and having reached the confines of the extenſive country, afterward known by the name of Peru, diſpatched an account of theſe important acquiſitions to Spain, with a requiſition of a thouſand men, to enable him to accompliſh the conqueſt of the country.

This information arrived two years before the ſickneſs and death of Ferdinand. The king, tranſported with the proſpect of opening a lucrative commerce with the Eaſt, by a courſe weſtward of the

line

line of demarkation drawn by pope Alexander VI. and by that means procuring a considerable portion of that lucrative trade which the Portuguese at that time monopolized, determined on prosecuting the measure pointed out by Balboa, but to deprive him of the merited glory and wealth which the execution of such a grand design would confer on the conductor: thus did ingratitude no less debase the cabinet than cruelty the progress of conquest. Fonseca, who was then bishop of Burgos, discovered, on this occasion, that strong antipathy to merit which ever marked his character. Through his patronage Pedrarias Davila was appointed governor of Darien, and sent out with fifteen ships and twelve hundred men; beside which, fifteen hundred persons eagerly presented themselves as volunteers.

When Pedrarius arrived at Darien, he found Balboa, of whom he had conceived the most exalted idea from the greatness of his exploits, employed in thatching a cottage, which he had constructed for his own residence, in which labour he was assisted by some Indians: he was clad in a canvass jacket, and had on his feet a pair of hempen sandals. Balboa suppressed his feelings on being thus superceded, and quietly submitted to the royal authority, so unjustly and cruelly exercised. Pedrarius not content with having divested Balboa of his command, brought him to a trial, for having acted without a proper authority, and imposed upon him so heavy a fine, as nearly deprived him of his whole fortune.

Soon after the arrival of this large force, the rainy season set in; which spread disease among the unseasoned Europeans, whilst a great scarcity of provisions deprived them of necessary relief: the consequence was, that in the course of a month six hundred persons perished: thus were six hecatombs offered up to the manes of exterminated Indians!

The new adventurers who survived the baneful influence of the climate, penetrated into the country in quest of gold, and disdaining the example of mildness and conciliation which Balboa had set them, treated the natives with the utmost haughtiness and severity; their rapacity and cruelty receiving no check from the authority of the governor, all the country for a considerable extent inland was desolated.

The representations and remonstrances which Balboa sent to Spain conveyed such strong proofs of the destructive measures pursued by Pedrarias, that Ferdinand became sensible of the imprudent choice which he had made of a leader, and what justice could not effect, self-interest immediately brought about. Balboa was appointed lieutenant governor, or adelantado of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive powers, and Pedrarias was enjoined to support him. By the interposition of Quevels, bishop of Darien, a reconciliation took place between the governor and his lieutenant, and to testify the sincerity of his professions, Pedrarias gave his daughter in marriage to Balboa.

In

In the year 1517, four small brigantines were built, for the purpose of proceeding along the coast of the South Sea; three hundred chosen men were to set out on the expedition; but Pedrarias, jealous of the renown which his son-in-law was going to acquire, determined to sacrifice every thing to work the destruction of a man whose merits were to him insupportable. Under specious pretexts he drew him to Acla, and there causing him to be seized, brought him to trial, upon charges of disaffection to to the king and evil designs against the governor; of these he was found guilty, received sentence to die, and was publicly executed soon after. The expedition, although fully prepared was then laid aside. Notwithstanding the misconduct and violent proceedings of Pedrarias, he found means to continue himself in power, chiefly from the strong support which he received from the bishop of Burgos; and he soon after obtained permission to remove the colony from Santa Martha to Panama, on the opposite side of the isthmus.

Early in the year 1517, a voyage to the Continent was undertaken from the island of Cuba, by Francisco Hermandes Cordova; he landed on the peninsula of Yucatan, where a casique received him with apparent kindness; but some Indians who lay in ambush, rushed upon his party; they were, however, intimidated by the fire-arms and cross bows of the Spaniards; and soon fled. Cordova, on quitting the country, took with him two of the natives, likewise the

the ornaments of a small temple. The natives of Yucatan were the first Indians which were seen with cloathing; they wore cotton garments. He then proceeded to Campeachy, on the same peninsula, where the natives attacked him with great fury; killed forty-seven Spaniards, and Cordova himself was desperately wounded. This discomfiture caused the ships to return to Cuba, and soon after their arrival Cordova died of his wounds.

Velasquez, who is described as a man more avaricious than daring, not willing to undertake any enterprise in person, fitted out four ships at his own expence, and two hundred and forty volunteers, among whom several persons of rank and fortune embarked. The command was given to Juan de Grijalva, who sailed from the port of St. Jago de Cuba on the 8th of April 1518. The first land they reached, in consequence of the strong currents, was the island of Cozumel, on the eastern coast of Yucatan, but without landing they proceeded to Potonchan, on the opposite side of the peninsula. There they landed, for the purpose of avenging on the natives the deaths of their countrymen who had been slain there; but the Indians fought with great fierceness, and, notwithstanding the whole Spanish force was disembarked, together with some field pieces, yet the victory was gained with difficulty, and they were compelled to re-embark. Proceeding westward along the coast, they were struck with amazement at the beauty of the country, and plainly perceived houses built

built of ſtone, white and lofty. In the warmth of their admiration, they imagined theſe to be cities adorned with towers and pinnacles; and one of the ſoldiers happening to remark that the country reſembled Spain in its appearance, Grijalva gave it the name of NEW SPAIN, amidſt univerſal applauſes; a name which it ſtill retains. They next landed to the weſt of Tabaſco, in the province now named Guaxaca. The people there received them with a degree of homage riſing to adoration: they burnt incenſe of *gum copal* before them, and made offerings of the choiceſt productions of their country. The Spaniards, in ſix days, obtained golden ornaments of curious workmanſhip to the value of fifteen thouſand peſos, for which they bartered European toys of ſmall value. The two Indians which had been carried away from Yucatan, in the former voyage, had ſerved as interpreters, but did not underſtand the language of their country; the natives therefore informed the Spaniards, by ſigns, that they were ſubjects of a great king, named Montezuma, whoſe dominions extended very far. He next landed on a ſmall iſland, which he named "the iſle of ſacrifices," having ſeen on it the horrid ſpectacle of an offering made of human victims. He afterward touched at Juan de Ulloa, and proceeded along the coaſt as far as the river Panuco, when he returned to Cuba, and arrived there on the 26th of October, having been about ſix months on his voyage.

The information which had been obtained by the voyage of Grijalva, concerning the rich and extensive kingdom which bore the name of Mexico, rendered Velasquez eager to undertake important discoveries in that direction; to effect which, he employed a considerable part of his fortune, which was doubtless much improved by Grijalva's voyage. The importance of the enterprise, however, did not excite him to conduct it in person, but he committed the important charge to Fernando Cortes, a native of Estramadusa, born at a small town in that province, named Medellin, in the year 1485. His family was of noble blood, but of small fortune: he had been designed for the law, and sent by his parents to the university of Salamanca; but study not suiting his restless and enterprising disposition, he was educated for a military life, and the discoveries of Columbus opening a wide field to youth of bold and adventurous spirits, he embarked for Hispaniola when nineteen years of age, being related to Ovando, who was then governor. Seven years afterward he accompanied Velasquez to Cuba.

The talents and qualities of Cortes were of so distinguishing and superior a kind as plainly pointed him out as the fittest man in the world to command in so great an undertaking: He united to the hardy and inflexible soldier, a disposition incapable of despondency and a mind ever fruitful in expedients; he possessed such engaging manners, as gained him the esteem of all, whilst he maintained, without appearing

pearing to ſeek it, a dignified aſcendency; his penetration and addreſs enabled him to diſcern the views and diſpoſitions of others, whilſt, with apparent frankneſs, he cautiouſly concealed his own. Nor did he want powerful friends to bring forward in the public ſervice this extraordinary aſſemblage of abilities.

He ſet out on the 18th of November 1518, proceeding to Trinidad, a ſmall ſettlement on the ſame iſland; but Velaſquez had, by this time, become ſo jealous of the leader he had appointed, that he ſent orders to deprive him of his commiſſion; Cortes had, however, ſo entirely gained the attachment of the officers, that it was not thought prudent to enforce the order. From Trinidad, he proceeded to the Havanna, whither Velaſquez forwarded his mandate, but the authority was there openly oppoſed.

Cortes had embarked all his fortune, and made uſe of all his credit to ſtake on this voyage; the capital he employed is repreſented by Herera and Bartholomew Diaz, as amounting to about fifteen hundred pounds ſterling; he had with him eleven veſſels, the largeſt of which was 100 tons, and called the admiral, ſeven of them were ſmall open barks. On board theſe ſhips were 617 men, of which 508 were ſoldiers, 109 ſeamen and artificers. Only 13 of the ſoldiers were armed with muſkets, 32 were croſs bow men, and the reſt had ſwords and ſpears. There were likewiſe 16 horſes, 10 field pieces,

and four falconets, or small pieces of artillery. A cross was displayed on their standards, on which was inscribed, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer."

Cortes proceeded to the island of Cozumel, where he released a Spaniard named Jerome de Aguilar, who had been eight years prisoner among the Indians, in which time he had acquired a dialect of the language which was understood through a large extent of country. Proceeding to the river of Tabasco, the natives shewed great animosity; a disposition quite opposite to their neighbours of Guaxaca on Grijalva's voyage. Being soon subdued, they sued for peace, were made to acknowledge the king of Castile for their sovereign, and furnished a supply of provisions, some cotton garments, gold, and twenty female slaves.

Proceeding westward to St. Juan de Ulloa, a canoe came on board Cortes's ship, in which were two persons of distinction, who addressed him with great respect; but the language in which they spoke was entirely unknown, until one of the female slaves understanding it, explaining the meaning in the Yucatan dialect, Aguilar made it known. This woman was afterward named Dorina Marina, and rendered the most important services to the Spaniards in the course of their proceedings: she had been sold as a slave in the early part of her life, and had acquired some general knowledge of the different dialects

ſpoken in various provinces. So unexpectedly fortuitous was the outſet of this expedition.

The two chiefs who addreſſed Cortes were deputed from Teutile and Pilpatoe, the two officers entruſted with the government of the province by a great monarch called Montezuma, and were ſent to inquire what were his intentions in viſiting the coaſt. The two governors came the next day to enforce the ſame inquiry. Cortes treated them with great reſpect, but required to be introduced to Montezuma. At this interview the Mexicans preſented Cortes with fine cotton cloth, plumes of variouſly coloured feathers, with ornaments of gold and ſilver to a conſiderable value; the workmanſhip of which appeared as curious as the materials were rich. Theſe preſents inflamed the avarice of the Spaniards to the higheſt pitch. During the interview, ſome painters in the train of the Mexican chiefs, were employed in delineating, upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ſhips, horſes, and artillery, ſoldiers and every other ſtriking novelty. Cortes perceiving this, drew up his men in military order, and the horſemen as well as the foot were commanded to perform various evolutions, whilſt the cannon were diſcharged toward a thick wood at ſome diſtance, by which the trees were ſhattered and diſmantled in a manner which impreſſed the Mexicans with the moſt awful ſurpriſe, and they conſidered their viſitors as poſſeſſing powers equal to thoſe of their gods.

Advice was then forwarded to the emperor Montezuma, acquainting him that the chief of the strangers required to be introduced to him, at the same time presents from Cortes were transmitted. Although the spot where this interview took place was an hundred and eighty miles distant from the city of Mexico; yet, so expeditious was the communication, that the advice was sent and an answer received in a few days. The emperor absolutely declined receiving a visit in his capital, and required that the Spaniards should immediately quit his coasts; but to qualify this refusal, a train of an hundred Indians, laden with presents from Montezuma, were introduced to Cortes: the magnificence of these presents astonished the Spaniards, who had conceived no idea of such wealth; the manufactures of cotton were of a texture so fine as to resemble silk; pictures formed by various feathers, so skilfully and elegantly arranged as to produce the most pleasing effect, and bear a competition with the works of the pencil in Europe; but all these curious pieces of workmanship were excelled in value by two large round plates, the one formed of massive gold, designed to represent the sun, the other of silver, emblematical of the moon. According to B. Diaz del Castillo, an officer in this expedition, the value of the silver plate was more than 20,000 pesos, or about 5000 l. sterling. The Mexican nobles hoping to have mollified Cortes by such costly gifts, proceeded to acquaint him, that their great monarch would not consent that foreigners should proceed any farther to-

4 ward

ward his capital, and required that Cortes and his followers should quit the country. To this Cortes, in a resolute tone, replied, that "he must be introduced to the prince, otherwise he should incur the anger of his sovereign, who had sent him thither for that express purpose." The fate of the Mexican empire then depended on the conduct of Montezuma; and the exigence required the most prompt and decisive measures: either to receive the Spaniards in full confidence as friends, or to collect the whole force of the empire to repel them as foes. At that time the empire had risen to such a degree of splendour, as no country ever had attained in so short a period of time. According to their own traditions, it had subsisted only 130 years, in which time all the independent provinces in the country had been subdued, and brought under one sovereign, whose dominions extended 500 leagues from E. to W. and 200 from N. to S. The people were warlike and enterprising; the power of the sovereign uncontrolled, and his revenues large. Montezuma is represented as a prince who had displayed capacity in war, having by the strength of his arm effectually subdued all opposition to his will. In what respected his authority he could brook no control, but was mild and benevolent when implicitly obeyed. His capacity for government had hitherto appeared equal to every circumstance, but in this momentous period he sunk unequal to the exigence: terror and dismay so seized him, that all his conduct was indecisive and

 feeble.

feeble. More presents, of great value, were sent, accompanied with a positive requisition that the Spaniards should immediately quit the country.

Cortes, who possessed all the requisites to form a consummate general, employed the interval of negociation in constructing a fortified town on the coast, and in gaining a knowledge of the state of the country and its inhabitants. Being now compelled to act decisively, he peremptorily refused to quit the country, and persisted in demanding an audience of the emperor. The Mexicans, astonished at his boldness, withdrew, and all intercourse from that time ceased. Many among the followers of Cortes seeing an open rupture with the Mexicans inevitable, were greatly alarmed at the host of enemies which threatened to overwhelm their small force, and became importunate with their leader to return to Cuba; but Cortes, whom no dangers could affright, with admirable address brought them over to his views, by representing the disgrace which would attend relinquishing so rich a prize, and the glory and wealth which awaited their success. As he acted under no legal authority, the appointment which he had received from the governor of Cuba having been revoked, he assembled the principal persons in his army, from among whom a certain number were chosen which were to form a government under the authority of the king of Spain, without acknowledging any dependence on Cuba. The town which had been formed, and which was designed to be the seat of the new government, was

named

named *Villa rica de la vera Cruz*, or "the rich town of the true croſs;" ſo attentive were the Spaniards to ſanction their inſatiable avarice by the pretexts of ſuperſtition. To the government ſo formed Cortes reſigned his command, and he was unanimouſly choſen by it chief juſtice of the colony, and captain general of the army, under the authority of the king's name, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be farther known. This proceeding was afterward ratified by the whole army convened for that purpoſe.

The firſt meaſure taken by Cortes, after he had received his new appointments, was to form an alliance with the two caſiques of Zempoalla and Quiabiſlan, in that neighbourhood, who being impatient of the yoke impoſed on them by Montezuma, had been prevailed upon to aſſiſt the Spaniards againſt the Mexican power; and the Totonaques, a fierce people, inhabiting the mountainous part of the country, ſubmitted themſelves to the crown of Caſtile. Cortes then perſuaded the newly appointed magiſtrates to addreſs a letter to the king of Spain, for the purpoſe of juſtifying their own conduct in eſtabliſhing an independent colony by renouncing the authority of the governor of Cuba; and in order to enforce the repreſentations which they made, the whole of the preſents which had been made by Montezuma were ſent to the king. Two of the chief magiſtrates of the colony, named Portocarrero and Montego, were ſent on this important errand,

errand, and were expressly enjoined not to touch at Cuba.

The Spaniards had now been above three months on the American continent, and although the force of Mexico was not put in motion to oppose them, yet some of the soldiers and sailors had formed a design of seizing a vessel and repairing to Cuba; Cortes, whose vigilance was unremitted, prevented its execution, and at once, to cut off all hope of quitting the country, he formed the desperate resolution of destroying all the ships, and such was his unbounded influence, that he procured the general concurrence of his people, who were thus at once deprived of every resource but what might be drawn from their own bravery, conduct, inflexibility, and success.

The general began his march from Zempoalla, on the 16th of August 1519, with 500 men, 15 horses, and six field pieces; the rest, which were chiefly invalids, he left at Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante: the casique of Zempoalla supplied him with 200 *Tamemes*, a class of Indians employed to carry burdens; he had beside 400 Indian soldiers, who were commanded by the principal men of the district, whom Cortes, with admirable policy, had selected, that he might have in his power hostages for the fidelity of their chief, the cazique.

On entering the country of the Tlascalans, a fierce and warlike people, he was attacked by a large body of troops, who rushed upon the Spaniards with great impetuosity;

impetuoſity, but were not able to make any impreſſion; although they wounded ſome Spaniards, and killed two horſes. Theſe Indians, previous to engaging the Spaniards, gave them warning of their hoſtile intentions; and as they knew their enemies were in want of proviſions, and ſuppoſed them to have left their native country for want of ſubſiſtence there, they ſent to the Spaniſh camp a large ſupply of poultry and maize, deſiring them to "eat plentifully, becauſe they ſcorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger, and it would be an affront to their gods to offer them famiſhed victims, as well as diſagreeable to themſelves to feed on half-ſtarved priſoners." The Spaniards, after having repulſed the Tlaſcalans, proceeded with great caution, and in compact order, in their way to Mexico; in which courſe they ſuſtained two more aſſaults from incredible numbers, but without ſuffering any material injury.

The Tlaſcalans, finding that, notwithſtanding their immenſe numbers, and furious onſet, they had not been able to make impreſſion on an enemy whom they had held in ſuch contempt, and that not a ſingle man had fallen or been made priſoner, began to conceive of them as a ſuperior order of beings, incapable of receiving any injury from their moſt violent aſſaults; and under theſe apprehenſions they had recourſe to their prieſts, who conſulted their gods with many ceremonies and ſacrifices, after which they declared to the people, that the ſtrangers were ſprung from the ſun, in the regions of the eaſt; that by day they

were

were invincible, but by night they sunk into ordinary men. Confiding in this oracular revelation, the Tlascalans drew together a vast force, for the purpose of a midnight onset; but the preparations which were making could not escape the vigilance of the Spanish general, who, anticipating their attack, fell upon them, as yet unprepared, and carried slaughter and destruction in every direction.

This delusion of their priests being so fatally confuted, the Tlascalans sued for peace; but they knew not how to address their conquerors. "If," said they, "you are gods of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh; if you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes; if you are men, here is meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." To Cortes and his followers nothing could be more desirable than peace and a cordial reconciliation; so that all animosities presently ceased, and the Tlascalans acknowledged themselves vassals to the crown of Castile. So sincere were they in their professions, that they furnished the Spaniards with 6000 of their best warriors, which acted as auxiliary troops in their operations against the Mexicans, toward whom they retained the most deadly antipathy. Nor would they have taken arms to oppose the invaders of their country in their progress, if Cortes had not so far suffered his bigotry to beguile his prudence, as to deface and throw down some of the idols in a temple of the Zempoallans;

of

of which profanation the Tlafcalans being informed, and bearing an equal veneration for the objects of their religious worfhip, were ftimulated to this furious oppofition.

At the time when this peace and firm alliance was formed, the Spaniards were finking under the unremitting fatigues of the fervice neceffary for their fecurity and defence; many had received wounds, and others were attacked with the difeafes incidental to hot climates; provifions were become fcarce, and of many neceffaries they were entirely deftitute: among thefe wants was that of falve to drefs the wounded, fo that they had been obliged to make ufe of the fat of flain Indians as a fuccedaneum; but now all their wants were fupplied, and their hopes of final fuccefs rofe into confidence.

On the 15th of October 1519, Cortes directed his force toward the city of Cholula, which was held by all the people of New Spain as a place of peculiar fanctity, and the favourite refidence of their gods; pilgrimages thither were made from all parts; and human victims were offered up in greater numbers in its principal temple than in that of Mexico. Here a plot was concerted by the Cholulans, in the moft fecret manner, to attack the Spaniards by furprife, and cut them off; but the defign was timely difcovered, chiefly by the intelligence which Marina found means to obtain. Immediately Cortes determined to ftrike terror into the Mexicans by the fevere vengeance which he fhould take upon this occafion. He took

meafures

measures to draw together the chief magistrates and leading men to his camp, when a furious onset was made on the unsuspecting and secure inhabitants; who, struck with terror, and incapable of resistance, fell by an indiscriminating and merciless slaughter. The temples were set on fire, and in them the priests, and multitudes of people, who had sought a sanctuary there, were consumed in the flames, or overwhelmed in the ruins. This massacre was continued with unabated rage through two whole days. Cortes then set at liberty the magistrates whom he had in his possession, informed them of the knowledge which he had of the plot, declared his resentment fully satiated, and that he was disposed to render them his friendship and protection. The Indians, no less astonished than terrified, concluded that the Spaniards possessed the power of penetrating into the secret thoughts and most hidden designs of men.

With these impressions widely spreading before them, Cortes led his bands to the city of Mexico, which was only twenty leagues distant from Cholula. Montezuma and all his court were thrown into the utmost consternation, and their indecisive conduct betrayed their agitation of mind; so that Cortes and his followers approached the city without opposition.

At length, a large number of persons of superior rank came forth from the city, and approached him in the most respectful manner; these were the harbingers of the emperor's approach, who soon after appeared carried in great state. Cortes advanced to

receive

receive him in the most respectful manner. As the Spaniards proceeded to the quarters assigned them, they frequently heard the crowd pronounce *Teules*, or divinities. In the evening Montezuma paid a visit to the Spanish chief, and brought presents of the most costly kind, not only to him and his principal officers, but to each private man. As these outward indications of regard could only be considered as dictated by fear, every precaution was taken to guard against surprise; to confirm suspicion, Cortes had received advice from Villa Rica, that Qualpopoca, a Mexican general, had fallen upon a party of the revolted Indians, to support whom, Escalante, who commanded the garrison, had marched out, and an engagement had taken place, in which, although the Mexicans were defeated, the governor and seven of his men had been mortally wounded, an horse killed, and a Spaniard taken prisoner, whose head they cut off, and carried in triumph through the districts, to convince the people that their invaders were not immortals. Cortes, sensible of the imminent dangers to which he was exposed, determined on the desperate measure of seizing the person of the emperor, and keeping him a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. To effect this, he made a proper distribution of his troops, arranging at proper stations, his Tlascalan allies, and then proceeded to visit the emperor in his palace.

At this interview he addressed the king in a style of anger, and charging him with having given orders

for

for the attack which had been made upon the Spaniards, demanded reparation for those who had suffered, as well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were. Montezuma, struck with astonishment at such an indignity offered to his greatness, and with no less a dread of what might follow, disclaimed having given the sanction of his authority for the attack, and gave orders that Qualpopoca and his officers should be brought prisoners to Mexico. Cortes declared himself perfectly convinced of the king's sincerity; but told him, that to remove all apprehensions from his Spanish followers, it became necessary that the king should quit his palace, and take up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where every attention and homage should be paid him which comported with his royal dignity. Montezuma was struck dumb and motionless at this speech, but soon collecting a degree of dignified spirit becoming his rank, he replied, that "he should not so far forget his own consequence as tamely to submit to be made a prisoner, neither would his subjects permit such an insult to his person and his authority." This apparent firmness was not long supported, for Velasquez de Leon, one of the Spanish officers, in an enraged tone of voice, exclaimed, "Let us waste no more time, but either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The emperor, appalled at the impassioned and threatening gestures and aspect of the speaker, instantly complied, and was conducted to his state prison, where his principal

officers

officers visited him as usual, and the business of the state proceeded in its common course.

Very soon after, Quelpopoca, with his son, and five principal officers, were brought prisoners to Mexico. The emperor gave them up to Cortes, who caused them to be tried by a Spanish court-martial, which condemned them to be burnt alive. They were instantly led forth, the pile on which they were laid was composed of the weapons which were laid up in the public arsenal, and an innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in silent astonishment, the double insult offered to the majesty of their empire: officers of distinguished rank consigned to death at the stake, by the sentence of strangers, for no crime, and even for the meritorious act of having obeyed the commands of their lawful sovereign; and the materials which fed these vengeful flames, furnished by the weapons which had been provided for the public defence; so that to the highest act of injustice was added the full measure of insult.

Previous to Qualpopoca and his officers being led to execution, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, with some of his officers, and a soldier bearing a pair of fetters, when he sternly told the emperor, that by the confession of those who had been apprehended, and were then going to suffer death, it appeared that they had acted by his order; it was therefore necessary that he should undergo a punishment due to that crime: then turning hastily away, he left the astonished emperor deprived of an

opportunity to reply, whilst the fetters were instantly fastened to his legs. This insult to a man, whose person had ever been venerated almost to deification, struck his attendants speechless with horror; whilst the monarch, considering this indignity as preparatory to his death, no longer impressed and animated with the dignified character he had sustained, burst forth into bitter and abject wailings; but his dread of immediate death was soon removed, for no sooner was the execution over, than Cortes returned, and, with a cheerful countenance, ordered his fetters to be taken off.

The Mexican monarch, rendered abject by his sufferings and fears, continued six months in the Spanish garrison, during which time his outward deportment bespoke him to be reconciled to his situation, although his artful governor and dictator made use of his name and authority to model the government at pleasure: such great officers of the state who, from their inflexibility, could not be rendered subservient, and whose abilities rendered them dangerous, he caused to be degraded, and filled their places with such as were less able and more tractable.

By the ductile disposition of Montezuma, Cortes obtained such parts of the Spanish vessels as had been taken to pieces at Vera Cruz, but which might be again put together, to be brought to Mexico, under the artful pretext of exhibiting vessels to sail upon the lake which encompassed the city, for the entertainment of the emperor. The Indians were directed

directed to cut down timber and convert it into planks, and the iron work having been preserved, the Spanish carpenters completed two brigantines, which, whilst they yielded a novel amusement to the emperor, secured to Cortes and his followers the command of the lake.

Proceeding from one step to another, Cortes brought Montezuma to submit to the mortifying degradation of acknowledging himself the vassal of the king of Castile, to hold his crown under him as superior, and to become his tributary. To give such an act all the solemnity it required, the chief men of the empire were convened, and the emperor himself was made to be the ostensible agent in effecting his own and his country's vassalage. As he had been previously instructed, he addressed the assembly; reminding them of the traditions and prophecies which were generally received in the country, that a strange race of men should arrive on their coasts, who should become the supreme governors of the country; and he declared, that as he considered this prediction accomplished in the Spaniards, he was ready to lay down his crown at the feet of their monarch, and to become his tributary. Whilst delivering this speech, he discovered the most agonizing state of mind, and conflicting passions distracted the assembly: at length, the consummately artful Spaniard, by a due admixture of soothing plausibility and dismaying terror, wrung from them their slow consent, and the act of submission and homage was executed with every

form which the Spaniards thought proper to prescribe.

The next use attempted to be made of the complying monarch was, to cause him to renounce the gods of his country; but he so steadily persisted in refusing to renounce his religion, that no kind of treatment or persuasion could make any impression upon him; and all the Mexicans remained equally firm. Cortes, enraged at such contumacy to his arbitrary will, determined upon destroying the idols which were placed in the great temple; but the strong and desperate opposition which he met with, both from the priests and the whole body of the people, caused him soon to desist, and he only removed the idols on one of the shrines, and placed an image of the virgin Mary there. Thus did a zeal for his own peculiar superstition become most active, when every principle of humanity and sense of moral rectitude were extinguished. This attempt, although relinquished, irritated the whole mass of the people beyond all the sufferings and indignities which had been before inflicted and heaped upon them.

Nine months had elapsed since he sent the two officers with dispatches to Charles V. when he received advice that some ships had appeared on the coast, which led Cortes to hope that his representations had been well received at the Spanish court, and that strong re-enforcements, with ample supplies, had reached the port; but he was soon undeceived, by advice from Sandoval, governor of Vera Cruz, who

who had succeeded on the death of Escalante, informing him, that the ships and forces were sent from Velasquez, governor of Cuba. The two messengers, although expressly forbidden, had touched at Cuba, on their way to Spain, and informed the governor there of every thing which had happened.

Notwithstanding the vast importance of the stake, and the fatal consequences which had been experienced from delegating his power to another, yet such was the supineness or timidity of Velasquez, that instead of resolving to lead a sufficient force in person to regain his lost authority, and deprive Cortes of his assumed power, by bold and decisive measures to possess himself of what had been already acquired, and secure the high renown, and rich spoils, which were to be gained by carrying into execution whatever remained to be accomplished, he gave to Pamphilo de Narvaez, the command of a large force which he fitted out, and empowered him to seize upon Cortes, and his principal officers, and send them prisoners to Cuba. This force consisted of 18 ships, in which were embarked 80 horsemen, 800 foot soldiers, 80 of whom were musqueteers, and 120 cross-bow men; also 12 pieces of cannon.

Narvaez landed on New Spain, in April 1520, and sent a priest to Sandoval, to summon him to surrender Vera Cruz; but the governor seized him and his attendants, and sent them prisoners, and in chains, to Mexico.

Cortes was then in the central part of an enemy's country, encompassed by people whom he had irritated by every kind of cruelty and oppression, and who only wanted the power of wreaking upon their persecutors the most savage vengeance; a force composed of his own countrymen, greatly superior to his own, now threatened him with a termination of his enterprise, equally disastrous and disgraceful. A situation more perilous and appalling can scarcely be imagined, or what more entirely precluded all possibility of escape; but Cortes preserved the full possession of himself, and dispelled despondency from his followers. He received the priest and his attendants with all the kindness due to friends and brothers; expressed the strongest disapprobation of the governor's severity toward them, and won them so completely to his interest, that they imparted to him, without reserve, every thing which he wished to know, respecting Narvaez, and the purpose he came to effect. He then sent Olmedo, his chaplain, with overtures of accommodation, which, as he expected, were contemptuously rejected; but he was more successful in secretly gaining over some of the followers of that commander.

Negociation being thus at an end, Cortes left 150 men in the garrison at Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, to whom he committed the captive monarch, and with all the other force he could muster advanced toward his rival. On his march toward the coast, he was joined by Sandoval

and the garrison of Vera Cruz, after which junction, his force did not exceed 250 men. By the most rapid marches he reached the province of Zempoalla. The rainy season had then set in with great violence: such inclemencies the hardy followers of the Mexican conqueror were inured to bear, whilst their adversaries sunk under the hardships which they endured.

Cortes seized this opportunity to fall upon the troops of Narvaez in the dead of night, when, secure in the superiority of their numbers, and the impracticability of active operations, amidst tempests which they were unable to withstand, the usual circumspection of camps was much relaxed. The assailants, surmounting the difficulties arising from the darkness of the night, began a furious onset on their countrymen, and spread constern tion wherever they came. As it was neither the interest nor disposition of the victors to shed blood, the soldiers of Narvaez were soon brought to lay down their arms, which induced their officers to surrender on terms. This complete victory was obtained with the loss of only two soldiers on the part of Cortes, and two officers and fifteen soldiers in the army of Narvaez, who, with a few who still adhered to him, were made prisoners. All the rest of the troops readily agreed to inlist under the banners of a general who was no less formidable for his conduct in the field, than alluring by his persuasive and dignified manners in civil life.

 The

The speedy termination of this war, by the prudence, bravery, and hardiness of Cortes and his followers, procured them, however, no season of repose; for Alvarado, as soon as he had obtained the command, regardless of his small force, with a brutal ferocity, attacked the Mexicans when assembled on one of their chief festivals, and whilst dancing in the court of the great temple, massacring all without distinction, and stripping them of the rich ornaments which they wore in honour of the occasion. This unprovoked attack roused the whole city to arms. The Mexicans destroyed the brigantines on the lake, and attacked the garrison, although their beloved and revered monarch was detained there as an hostage.

Cortes being apprised of the perilous situation to which his people had brought themselves, marched back his accumulated force with a celerity equal to that with which he departed; and although the Mexicans might have effectually prevented his entering the garrison, where the Spaniards were on the point of perishing by famine, had they broken down the causeways and bridges, yet no obstacles were thrown in his way.

The force which Cortes now possessed seemed sufficient to fix him in security the tyrant of Mexico. Confiding in his resistless power, the ferocity of his nature disdained any longer to yield to temporising measures: all appearance of respect to Montezuma was therefore laid aside: instead of disapproving the sanguinary

sanguinary outrage committed by his officer, and endeavouring to appease the incensed Mexicans, he spoke of them in the most contemptuous and menacing manner. This change of disposition in the Spanish chief was soon reported to the agitated multitude, and caused rage to subdue every other passion. They flew to arms, and attacked the Spaniards in every direction, with an impetuosity unknown before. Although numbers were swept away, yet others eagerly rushed forward to supply their places, and the onset was maintained with unabating fury. The troops which had just submitted to the authority of Cortes, in expectation of finding all difficulties removed, and that nothing remained but to share the spoils of a conquered kingdom, were disgusted and dismayed at the hardships which they endured, and the dangers which every where surrounded them.

To strike terror into the assailants, the general made a powerful sally, which he conducted in person, but in this his former good fortune forsook him: a second was not more successful. As his last expedient he brought forth the captive monarch, after having properly instructed him how to address the people, in order to prevail on them to lay aside their animosity, as they bore down to a fresh assault upon the building. His appearance checked for a moment the impetuous torrent, but all respect for his person and character was soon renounced, and their rage rekindling, two arrows entered his body, and a stone, directed at him, struck him to the ground.

When

When brought to his apartment and recovered from the ſhock, he felt all the depth of ignominy to which he was ſunk from his height of grandeur; he ſaw, with horror, how much he had degraded himſelf, and what miſery he had brought on his empire: reſolving no longer to drag on a life of infamy, all the attentions which Cortes and his officers paid him he returned with contempt, rejected all ſuſtenance, rent the bandages from his wounds with indignant ſcorn, and in this paroxyſm of remorſe and rage he expired.

The only means of ſafety remaining to the Spaniards was in a retreat, which they attempted in the night; but the Mexicans, ſuſpecting their intention, were prepared to follow them, although contrary to an eſtabliſhed principle which reſtrained them from ſuch a mode of fighting. The cauſeway being broken down, and every impediment effected to impede their march, they fell upon them with an extirpating impetuoſity. The Spaniards, who had been accuſtomed to ſpread deſtruction and terror around them, experienced a total defeat. Their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were loſt, many horſes killed, alſo 2000 Tlaſcalans. They loſt likewiſe the chief part of the rich plunder, which had excited them to perpetrate all their crimes and cruelties. The loſs of men which the Spaniards ſuſtained is variouſly ſtated; Dr. Robinſon ſuppoſes it to have been 600, Bernal Diaz de Caſtillo affirms, that 870 men periſhed, and only 440 eſcaped.

With

With these shattered remains of a powerful army, which, strange inconsistency! owed its destruction to the force it had possessed, the Spaniards found a friendly asyum in the province of Tlascala; but in their progress thither they had another severe conflict to sustain, on the 6th day of their march, when they came near Otumba; although in that action they proved victorious without much loss; for Cortes perceiving the great standard of the empire displayed, selected some of his bravest officers, and with them rushed toward it: the Mexican general was slain, and the standard taken, an universal panic immediately ensued, and the superstitious multitude fled precipitately.

Still, however, Cortes was now reduced to a very degraded situation, a fugitive from the place where he and his people had been received as divinities; his followers slaughtered by hundreds, and his force, which had been held invincible, now weakened and degraded by frequent attacks; yet his spirit remained unsubdued: he dispatched an officer, in whom he confided, to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers and procure horses, gunpowder, and stores; and in the mean time he employed the Indians to cut down, in the forests of Tlascala, timber for building several brigantines, intending to carry them, in detached parts, to the lake of Mexico. Whilst these measures were taking, two vessels entered the harbour of Vera Cruz with a reinforcement of men and supply of military stores: these were sent by Velasquez

Velasquez to his general Narvaez, in full confidence of the prosperous issue of his expedition.

Three ships, at different times, afterward arrived which Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had fitted out; also a ship from Spain laden with military stores, which was fitted out by private adventurers. These various arrivals supplied Cortes with 180 men, and 20 horses. Some of the discontented followers of Narvaez he then permitted to depart, being still able to muster 550 infantry, 40 horsemen, and nine field pieces: 10,000 Indians, chiefly Tlascalans, were his allies in his second expedition against Mexico. He began his march on the 28th of December 1520, six months after his fatal retreat.

Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, made choice of his brother Quetlavaca, a man of eminent bravery and distinguished talents, and who had conducted the attacks which were made upon the Spaniards in the capital. He received constant information of what was going forward in the Spanish camp, was apprised of their intended return to the centre of the empire, and with great diligence and ability prepared to oppose them. He endeavoured, by the most soothing representations, to recover to his interests all the country powers which had formed alliances with Cortes: in the midst of these noble exertions to deliver his country from merciless plunderers, the small-pox ended his days. Guatimozin, the nephew of Montezuma,

tezuma, who had married his daughter, was then elected to the Mexican throne.

Cortes first subdued Tezeuco, the second city in Mexico, situated about twenty miles from the capital, on the banks of the lake, and here he fixed his head quarters; after which, three months elapsed before his brigantines were completed; and as the commissioner whom he had sent to Hispaniola was not returned, he was not in a condition to attack the imperial city, but he employed the time in reducing contiguous places, and detaching from Guatimozin many tribes of Indians, which had been small independent states until they had been brought under the yoke of the Mexican government.

In this state of affairs a spirit of discontent spread among the soldiers of Narvaez, and a common man named Antonio Villefagna, became the leader of the malcontents. A conspiracy was formed to assassinate their general; but one of the conspirators, stung with remorse, betrayed the design, only a few hours before the stroke was to be given. Cortes repaired to the quarters of Villefagna, and found upon him a paper containing the names of all the conspirators. Struck with astonishment at the discovery, but prudently suppressing his resentment against all concerned except the actual leader, he caused him to be hanged before the door of his lodging; then calling his troops together, he declared to them, with most consummate artifice, that he was utterly ignorant of the persons concerned in the conspiracy, the criminal having torn and swal-

lowed

lowed a paper ſuppoſed to contain their names, and no torture could extort a confeſſion from him. The conſpirators, thus relieved from their apprehenſions of diſcovery, abandoned all deſigns againſt their leader.

Thirteen brigantines were ſoon after launched on the lake; father Olmedo, the chaplain, beſtowing his benediction upon them as they proceeded; giving to each a name. On this occaſion a general ſhout of joy burſt forth, and the powerful genius which could cauſe ſuch a naval force to be brought into exiſtence, under ſuch unfavourable circumſtances, excited univerſal admiration.

About this time, four ſhips arrived at Vera Cruz, with 200 ſoldiers and a conſiderable ſupply of ammunition and arms. Upon receiving this reinforcement, Cortes reſolved on a general attack of the city, in three directions, at the ſame time. He had now 816 foot ſoldiers and 86 horſemen, three battering cannon, and fifteen field pieces; a numerous body of Indians was allotted to each diviſion. Cortes took the command of the brigantines, on board of each were twenty-five Spaniards and a ſmall cannon.

Guatimozin attempted to deſtroy the brigantines, by aſſembling a vaſt number of canoes, which attacked them with great boldneſs; but they were ſoon diſperſed, many were ſunk, and much ſlaughter made among the people. A month paſſed in indeciſive

operations.

operations against the city, which extremely harassed the seamen by incessant exertions.

On the 3d of July 1521, Cortes put his whole force in motion, with a design to make a general assault. The division which he led on in person bore down every thing before it by resistless bravery and force, and entered the city: Julian de Alderete, who arrived with the last troops from Hispaniola, was directed to fill up the chasms and gaps in the causeway, as the main body advanced, in order to secure a retreat if their safety demanded it; but he, disdaining to be so employed whilst the battle was every where waging, rushed forward to the fight, neglectful of the necessary service entrusted to him. Guatimozin saw, and availed himself to the utmost of this indiscretion: by his orders the Mexicans gave way, and drew the Spaniards into the central part of the city, whilst a select band of his choicest warriors proceeded to the breach in the causeway, to cut off the enemy's retreat. When he had brought his design to the fit moment for execution, the priests in the great temple, receiving the appointed signal, sounded the awful drum which was consecrated to the God of War, whose sounds diffused, universally, a desperate and maddening fury: instantly they rushed upon the Spaniards, now beginning to be exhausted by a conflict so severe and so long sustained: their impetuosity was not to be withstood, and an orderly retreat was every thing which could be effected; but when they reached the causeway, they

they found themselves deprived of this means of safety. Cortes perceiving every thing to be lost, bent his whole attention to save such as were plunged into the water; whilst thus employed, six Mexican captains seized him, and were hastening away with their inestimable prize, when two of his own officers rescued him from captivity at the price of their own lives; but in this conflict he had received several dangerous wounds. About twenty Spaniards perished in the disorderly retreat, and forty more were made prisoners, to render splendid, by their tortures, the barbarous triumphs of their vengeful enemies.

As night approached, the Spaniards in their camp were appalled by the clamorous rejoicings ushering in the horrid festival rites which were to solemnize the victory of the Mexicans: the whole city blazed with illuminations, the great temple became a distinguishable object to the Spanish army from its superior lustre: they could even discern many things which were passing there, and their tortured imaginations supplied every circumstance attending the sacrifice of their wretched companions to the God of War. The dances before the temple they could discern, and they thought they perceived the Spanish prisoners, naked, and compelled to join the dance. The doleful cries of the victims sacrificed pierced their ears, and each man thought he distinguished the well known voice of a friend or associate, as the cries succeeded each other.

It muſt be ſuppoſed that in the deſperate defeat the Spaniards ſuffered when they retreated from Mexico, many of their men fell alive into the hands of the victors, but their cruel fate probably was never known to their ſurviving comrades.

This diſcomfiture determined Cortes to change his mode of attack, and inſtead of aiming at the poſſeſſion of the city by one deciſive onſet, to proceed by gradual approaches: his brigantines having the command of the lake, entirely cut off all ſupplies from the adjacent country by that means, whilſt the Indians in his ſervice as effectually intercepted every thing by land. Famine now began to ſweep away great numbers, as 200,000 perſons were ſuppoſed to have been ſhut up in the city. Still, however, the dignified mind of Guatimozin rejected all overtures of peace, and he determined to periſh in defending his empire and its capital. When the ſiege had continued ſeventy-five days, the Spaniards had penetrated into the centre of the city, three fourths of which were laid in ruins, and had made a ſecure lodgment in the great ſquare; the remaining part was no longer defenſible. All hope being loſt, the Mexican chiefs prevailed on their beloved and dignified monarch to attempt effecting his eſcape from a place conſigned to deſtruction, and by his preſence to excite the diſtant provinces to riſe in arms; he yielded to the exigency, and every proper precaution was taken to convey him out of the city in a canoe; but the penetrating vigilance of Cortes

ſuggeſted to him, that ſome important object was effecting, and he gave orders accordingly, in conſequence of which a Spaniſh officer, in one of the brigantines, captured the unhappy emperor, who reſigned himſelf to his fate with a dignified compoſure; all that he aſked was, that no inſult might be offered to his wife or children. When brought before Cortes, he ſuſtained himſelf with true magnanimity. "I have acted," ſaid he, "as became a monarch. I have defended my people to the laſt extremity; nothing remains for me but to die. Plant your dagger in my breaſt, and finiſh a life now rendered uſeleſs."

With the capture of their emperor all reſiſtance on the part of the Mexicans ceaſed; but the poſſeſſion of the city only ſerved to diſappoint the hopes of the Spaniards, who, inſtead of becoming maſters of inexhauſtible treaſures, were recompenſed with very inconſiderable acquiſitions. According to Cortes' account, the amount of the gold and ſilver acquired was 120,000 peſos; a much ſmaller ſum than was obtained from the firſt plunder of the city; Guatimozin having, as is ſuppoſed, when he deſpaired of defending it, cauſed whatever ſpecies of wealth had been accumulating through ſucceſſive ages, to be thrown into the lake; and the Indians, who were the allies of the Spaniards, found means to poſſeſs themſelves of the greateſt part of what remained. This diſappointment excited a clamorous diſcontent among the Spaniards. Cortes, to appeaſe this dangerous ſpirit, added to his numerous acts of atrocious cruelty,

cruelty, that of causing Guatimozin and his chief favourite to be put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confession where the wealth of the imperial city was concealed. No agonies could however shake the constancy of the emperor, but his companion in torture sinking under the extremity of suffering, turned his eyes toward his sovereign, expressive of a desire to obtain a release from anguish, by revealing all he knew; but the emperor, casting a look expressive of his own inflexibility, as well as contempt for his associate's weakness, said to him, "Am I indulging on a bed of flowers?" Inspired by this superior fortitude, the exhausted sufferer persisted unto death. Even the obduracy of the tormentor could not sustain such a scene, and he put an end to the tortures of the surviving Guatimozin.

Whilst Cortes was acquiring these valuable territories for the Spanish monarchy, he had acted from the first without any authority or commission from the king of Spain, and was liable to be treated as a rebel, in having thrown off the authority with which he had been legally invested. Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, who still retained his station and ascendancy, was his bitter enemy, and represented his conduct in the most odious point of view. By his representations Christoval de Tapia received a commission, directing him to supersede Cortes in his command, to seize his person and effects, and transmit an account of his conduct to Spain. Tapia arrived at Vera Cruz a few weeks after the reduction of Mexico;

 but

but the man who had baffled so many designs against him, had the address to avert this danger also, by inducing Tapia to relinquish the enterprise. He then transmitted a second dispatch to the emperor Charles V. in which he displayed, in the most glowing and captivating colours, the valuable acquisitions which he had made for the crown of Spain; these were enforced by rich presents, and very curious specimens of the productions of the country; thus supported, he humbly urged his suit to be appointed governor of the territory which his perseverance, conduct, and valour, aided by his intrepid followers, had at length gained the possession. Charles was so fully sensible of the merits of the man, and of the farther services which he was capable of rendering, that notwithstanding the remonstrances of Fonseca and the claims urged by Velasquez, he appointed Cortes captain general and governor of New Spain.

The treatment which the Mexicans received when they were brought under entire subjection, was beyond measure cruel and oppressive; whilst so oft as their sufferings drove them to acts of violence, those furnished a pretext to reduce them to slavery; but the nobles and principal persons being incapable of bodily labour, were put to death in the most cruel manner. A suspicion arose that Guatimozin was forming designs to raise an insurrection: no proofs were produced, or trial had, yet that truly magnanimous monarch, with two of the most consi-

derable

derable persons in the empire, were publicly hanged.

When Charles V. appointed Cortes governor of New Spain, he nominated commissioners to receive the royal revenue, to pay the salaries of the officers, and to transmit the residue independent of the governor. These men being witnesses of the absolute power which Cortes exercised over the conquered country, in their despatches to the king of Spain represented Cortes as a tyrant, who sought to render himself independent in the country which he had conquered, and which he ruled with a rod of iron. The emperor, alarmed, appointed Ponce de Leon to seize the person of Cortes, if he should see it expedient, and to send him prisoner to Spain; but this attempt to displace him likewise failed, by the death of the officer appointed to effect it, which happened soon after his arrival.

Cortes, seeing his interest with his sovereign thus declining, and not choosing to be proceeded against in a judicial manner, on the spot where his triumphs had been so splendid and so decisive, determined to repair to Castile, and there render an account of his conduct.

He arrived there in 1528, where he appeared with a splendour which suited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many jewels and ornaments of great value, several curious productions of the country, and was attended by some Mexicans of the first rank, as well

 as

as by the moſt conſiderable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain removed at once every ſuſpicion and fear which had been entertained with reſpect to his intentions. The emperor having now nothing to apprehend from the deſigns of Cortes, received him as a perſon whom a conſciouſneſs of his own innocence had brought into the preſence of his maſter, and who was entitled, by the eminence of his ſervices, to the higheſt marks of diſtinction and reſpect. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of an ample territory in New Spain, were ſucceſſively beſtowed upon him; and as his manners were correct and elegant, although he had paſſed the greateſt part of his life among rough adventurers, the emperor admitted him to the ſame familiar intercourſe with himſelf that was enjoyed by noblemen of the firſt rank. *Robertſon's Hiſtory of America*, II. 410.

Theſe honours and diſtinctions, however flattering, did not ſatisfy the conqueror of Mexico, whoſe chief wiſh was to obtain the government of New Spain with ample powers; but ſuch authority Charles was too wiſe to delegate, and only gave him a licence to proſecute new diſcoveries, and inveſted him with the military department; at the ſame time the chief power in civil affairs was entruſted to a court called "The Audience of New Spain." To that country he returned in 1530. He continued there ten years, and then reviſited Europe in extreme diſguſt. His reception on this his ſecond arrival was very different

from

from the former. The emperor expecting no farther services, was no longer familiar; but though his behaviour was no more than distantly civil, yet his ministers thought it not worth while to preserve that decorum. In this irksome situation Cortes dragged out about the last seven years of his life, dying on the 2d of December 1547, in the 62d year of his age: A man who, by combining in his character qualities the most wonderful and distinguishing, perpetrated crimes of the deepest dye.

The accounts which are handed down to us of this wonderful event, the conquest of Mexico, were written, either by Spaniards who were employed in military service, or by a priest who attended the camp: the first raised the military prowess of themselves and their countrymen to an incredible height to share in the glory of such heroic deeds; the latter, by representing the conquest as an achievement beyond the powers of man to accomplish, resolved it into the miraculous interposition of St. Jago, or St. James, the tutelar saint of their country; but it ought to be taken into the account, that according to Cortes' own narrative, 150,000 Indians acted as auxiliars, and other writers make the number to be considerably greater. Among these, the Tlascalans were renowned warriors before the arrival of the Spaniards, and several thousand of their troops attended Cortes from his first advances to Mexico to the final reduction of the city; these, under such a general, and in such a length of severe service, must have been formed into well trained and

powerfully efficient ſoldiers. Such facts, when allowed due weight, entirely do away the marvellous, and make this piece of hiſtory appear to be, what it juſtly is, one of the moſt aſtoniſhing inſtances of human valour, perſeverance, and conſummate generalſhip.

Another circumſtance, horrid to relate, is, that the Tlaſcalans fed on the fleſh of ſlain Mexicans, and the Spaniards were daily witneſſes to theſe anthropophagian meals. Such was their inſatiable reliſh for this kind of food, that they preſerved the limbs of their ſlain enemies from putrefaction by ſalting them, and ſent large quantities, ſo cured, to their countrymen at home, to ſupply them with luxurious banquets.

As the Spaniſh writers, in computing ſums of money, conſtantly reckon by *peſos*, it is neceſſary to explain the implied value of that coin. Dr. Robinſon obſerves, that "in America, the peſo *fuerte* or *duro* is the only one known, and that is always meant when any ſum imported from America is mentioned." The peſo fuerte, as well as other coins, has varied in its numerary value; but he conſiders it as equal to four ſhillings and ſix pence of our money. "It is to be remembered, however, that in the ſixteenth century, the effective value of a peſo, i. e. the quantity of labour which it repreſented, or of goods which it would purchaſe, was five or ſix times as much as at preſent." *Preface, page* xvii.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The CONQUEST of PERU.

THE preceding chapter exhibited the exploits of a man who waded through ſlaughter to acquire wealth, and who ſhut the gates of mercy on millions of the human ſpecies, involving in miſery their devoted poſterity; a conduct which may be thought to fill up the meaſure of *human* depravity: but as atrocities in crimes are progreſſive as well as attainments in virtue, in the preſent chapter, *infernal* guilt may be conſidered as rendered viſible upon earth, to illuſtrate by example the exiſtence of beings, which the general belief of the unenlightened as well as the enlightened world have placed in inviſible regions.

As the conqueſts made by the Spaniards ſerved only to excite a more general ſpirit of adventure, and to render the needy and unprincipled among the people of Spain impatient to amaſs wealth, and riot amidſt the ſufferings of defenceleſs Indians in the weſtern hemiſphere; ſeveral attempts were made to explore this vaſt continent to the ſouth-eaſtward of Panama, of which Balboa had made ſo favourable a report; but as ſufferings and diſappointments were the only reſult

result of each enterprise for the space of seven years, it was generally supposed, either that Balboa had been deceived by the information he had obtained from the Indians, or that he had fabricated a tale to answer private purposes.

Although every expectation of making valuable discoveries in that quarter was generally renounced, there were three men residing in Panama who were fully persuaded of their practicability, and of the vast advantage to be gained by success. The principal person in this association was Francisco Pizarro, a Spaniard of low birth and no education, whose strength of body and daring spirit led him to become a soldier in his youth. He first served in Italy, but soon embarked for America; he had attended Balboa in his expedition toward Peru, and had rendered himself conspicuous for his hardiness and audacity. To him were united Diago de Almagro, another soldier of fortune, and Harmando Luque, a priest, who had resided some years at Panama, and followed the profession of a school-master. These three persons agreed to throw all the property they had acquired into one joint stock, with which they fitted out a small vessel, having on board 112 men, and in it Pizarro embarked on the 14th of November 1524, whilst his two partners remained at Panama to wait the event, and to render him farther supplies as occasion might require. In this voyage the sufferings of Pizarro and his party were most severe, and would have entirely discouraged any man less inflexible in

ſpirit than himſelf. Almagro, after ſome time, followed him. It was a conſiderable time before a junction was formed; but that probably ſaved both parties from deſtruction. They ſoon after diſcovered the coaſt of Peru, and landed at three degrees ſouth of the line. Here were ſeen a ſtately temple, and a palace belonging to the ſovereign of the country, which beſpoke the opulence and civilization of the inhabitants; ſome veſſels of gold and ſilver were procured, and ſome curious works of art. They likewiſe brought away two of the natives, who were young men; one of whom afterward ſerved as an interpreter.

Three years were employed in laying this foundation for future diſcoveries; but theſe flattering appearances were not ſufficient to gain the neceſſary ſupport from the Spaniſh American ſettlements; it was therefore agreed that Pizarro ſhould proceed to Spain, and ſollicit the aid of government to effect the diſcovery and conqueſt of a country ſo replete with allurements.

Pizarro found the Spaniſh miniſtry not much diſpoſed to attend to his repreſentations, and he might probably have finally failed, had not Cortes about that time arrived from Mexico, and received particular marks of favour from the emperor: he had known Pizarro on the iſland of Cuba, and was well acquainted with his qualifications to effect the purpoſe intended; and it is very probable that his good offices with the emperor procured for his old aſſociate the appointment of governor of the new ſettlement

which

which might be made. Almagro, after some time, was appointed lieutenant governor, though Pizarro, at first, had procured him to be named only governor of a fortress, which so much incensed him, that an open rupture would have ensued, if Pizarro had not brought about a reconciliation by procuring for him the rank which had been stipulated for in the contract. Luque was appointed bishop of the country to be discovered, and nothing more is heard of him in the sequel. Cortes likewise advanced a sum of money to Pizarro, to enable him to proceed in the undertaking, as no farther support could be obtained from government, than granting a sanction to the expedition by the royal licence and appointment to offices, for which Pizarro engaged to raise 250 men, to provide the ships, and likewise the military stores.

He took with him to America his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo Pizarro; men admirably suited to follow such a fraternal leader.

Thus supported by regal authority, when the three partners exerted all their abilities in property and credit at Panama, no more than three small vessels could be provided, and 180 soldiers, 36 of whom were horsemen. With this force Pizarro sailed in February 1531; the season was favourable, and he reached Peru in thirteen days sailing. He landed his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. As the only quality which this leader possessed was a brutal hardiness of

of mind and body, he made no attempt to conciliate the natives, but on the contrary attacked them, whenever a present advantage was to be seized, which caused the Peruvians to abandon their habitations and fly up the country; which occasioned him and his followers soon to feel a total want of necessary supplies; but, after enduring such hardships as excited loud discontents, he reached the province of Coaque, where he surprised the principal settlement, and seized vessels and ornaments of gold and silver to the amount of 30,000 pesos, with other valuable spoils. He immediately dispatched a ship to Panama, with a large remittance to his partner Almagro, and continued his march along the coast. He scarcely met with resistance until he attacked the island of Puna, in the bay of Guayquil, which was populous, and the people fierce and warlike; they defended themselves with great bravery, and Pizarro spent six months in reducing them. He then returned to Tumbez, where the sickly state of his small army compelled him to remain during three months. The first Spanish colony established in Peru was near the river Piura, and received the name of St. Michael.

At the time of this invasion the empire of Peru stretched 1500 miles along the Pacific Ocean from N. to S. its breadth from E. to W. was bounded by the chain of mountains called the Andes. Its history is very singular. The tradition current in the country was, that at a period not very remote, civilization was in a very rude state, and the natives

were

were formed into distinct and independent tribes when a man and a woman of forms surpassing human in a graceful dress, appeared, and with an air of majestic benignity addressed the rude and dispersed natives in such a manner as was rendered intelligible to them. The name of the man was Manco Capac; and of the woman Mema Ocollo; they styled themselves children of the sun, and said that they were sent by that great luminary, to instruct them in the arts of life, by which comforts and accommodations might be procured. The savage tribes listened with pleasure to the instructions thus imparted: the earth became cultivated, garments became manufactured, the men and women were initiated into occupations suited to their different sexes, and at length the foundation of a city was laid, which took the name of Cuzco.

The descendants of these founders of the empire were revered as superior beings; they were styled "children of the sun" and "INCAS, or lords of Peru." The reverence paid to them was unbounded; they were not only absolute monarchs, but were revered as divinities. The Peruvians counted a succession of twelve monarchs from the original stock, but the period of time when this renovated state of the country took place is not ascertained by any revolution of years. As the descendants of the sun had in no instance intermarried with the people of the country, their blood was unmixed and considered as sacred. The absolute power which the *Incas* thus

possessed

possessed, is represented as having been uniformly exercised with mildness; although for the purpose of diffusing general prosperity and happiness, their government had been gradually extending.

It appears that the Spaniards attempted the conquest of Peru at the very precise point of time when the subversion of that populous and powerful empire could only have been effected by a force apparently so inadequate. Huana Capac, the 12th monarch of the Incas, was celebrated, like his predecessors, for his virtues and talents; he was a warlike prince, and brought the kingdom of Quito under subjection, which almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire; but this conquest proved fatal, for he was led to marry the daughter of the vanquished monarch, thus contaminating his pure origin: a son named Atahualpa was the offspring of this marriage; who, about the year 1529, succeeded, on the death of his father, to the kingdom of Quito, whilst Huascar, another son, by a princess of the royal race, succeeded to all his other dominions. This dismemberment of the empire produced the first civil war which had ever been waged in the country. Atahualpa, having gained over the best troops of the empire, soon vanquished his rival, and, to strengthen himself in power, he did not scruple to put to death all the royal race descended from his father whom he could draw into his power, either by force or stratagem, Huascar only excepted, who, having been taken prisoner in a decisive battle, was suf-

fered

fered to live, that he might issue orders under the direction of the conqueror.

Information of this state of affairs in the country was communicated to Pizarro when at St. Michael, by a message sent to him by Huascar, soliciting his aid against his brother Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Spanish invader than such intelligence, and he proceeded, without delay, into the heart of the kingdom with his slender force.

The breed of horses having been successfully attended to in America, his cavalry formed a considerable part of his force, for he had 62 horsemen and 122 foot soldiers; his artillery consisted of only two field pieces. He proceeded toward Caxamalca, 12 days march from the coast, where Atahualpa was encamped, from whom an officer arrived with a valuable present, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance and assurances of friendship on the part of the Inca. Pizarro had trained one of the natives, whom he had carried away on his first visit to the coast, to act as an interpreter; this youth having received baptism, was named Philippillo; by his means the commander was enabled to delude the Inca, asserting that he was sent by a very powerful monarch, and his design in advancing was to offer the Inca his assistance. This assurance lulled the prince and his people into a very fatal security, and caused them to refrain from making use of the means which occurred, in the farther march of the Spaniards through the country, to cut them off. As they approached Caxamalca, presents

of greater value than the former arrived from Atahualpa.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house, which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other, a temple of the sun: the whole was surrounded with a strong rampart, or wall of earth. Thus securely posted, he dispatched his brother Ferdinand and an officer named Hernando Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, about a league distant from the town; for the purpose of confirming his declaration of the pacific disposition with which he was come, and to request an interview.

The reception which they met with at the court of the Inca was cordially friendly, and that monarch returned for answer that he would visit the Spanish commander the next day in his quarters. The decent manners of the Peruvians, the reverence which they paid to their sovereign, but still more the profusion of wealth which every where appeared, struck the Spaniards with astonishment. Rich ornaments, costly vessels of gold and silver, every where met their eyes: the repast which was served up to them was brought in a great number of gold and silver utensils. Such vast wealth, which, if protected by a sufficient force, would have struck these needy adventurers with an abject awe, being possessed by men whose numbers impressed no apprehensions, and whose utmost force was considered as capable of being overwhelmed by the weapons and skill of

Europeans; roused every latent principle of baseness in their minds.

The report which these messengers made to their leader, on their return, determined him to seize upon the person of the Inca on the ensuing visit, and to pour destruction on his unsuspecting subjects; to effect which a proper distribution of the Spanish forces was instantly made. The Inca, although stained with the blood of his kindred, was not taught by his own crimes to entertain the smallest suspicion of the machinations which were formed against him and his kingdom, whilst his attention was entirely directed to impress upon his foreign visitors an admiration of his magnificence and power. His fatal security probably arose from the inconsiderable number of the Spaniards; and although their superiority in military operations made him solicitous to obtain them for allies, they did not appear likely to rise into formidable enemies.

The procession was in the highest style of pomp. 400 men, in an uniform dress, preceded as harbingers. The Inca was seated on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver, enriched with precious stones: it was borne on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Some of the chief officers of his court, who were carried in the same manner, followed him. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this grand procession. The whole plain was covered with

troops,

troops, which were supposed to amount to 30,000 men.

As the Inca entered the Spanish quarters, Vincenti Valverde, a Dominican friar, who was chaplain to the expedition, advanced toward him with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse endeavoured to explain the principles of the Christian faith, exhorting him to embrace that religion, and more especially to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope; he concluded with requiring him to yield submission to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given the empire of Peru, promising if he complied instantly with the requisition, the Spanish monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of the regal authority; but if he should impiously reject this invitation, he denounced war against him in the name of the king his master.

Atahualpa listened with great attention to this insolent harangue; to which, when finished, the monarch calmly replied, "It is great extravagance in the pope to give away so liberally that which does not belong to him. You own he is inferior to the three gods whom you worship, and yet the gods only can dispose of kingdoms. I wish to become the friend of the king of Spain, whose great power I perceive by the army which he has sent to this distant country, but I will not be his vassal. The religion of my ancestors I venerate, and until you convince me that it is false, and that yours only is the true

 religion,

religion, it would be equally abſurd as impious in me to renounce it. You adore a god who died upon a croſs, I worſhip the ſun who never dies." He then expreſſed a deſire to know where ſuch wonderful and incongruous doctrines could be contained. Valverde preſented to him his breviary, and informed him they were contained in that book. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, applied them to his ear. "This book," ſays he, "is ſilent; it tells me nothing;" and then threw it diſdainfully on the ground. The furious eccleſiaſtic, turning toward the Spaniards, inſtantly exclaimed, "Vengeance, Chriſtians; the word of God is profaned; kill thoſe impious dogs who deſpiſe the religion of the croſs."

The impatience of Pizarro's followers could ſcarcely be ſuppreſſed by their leader whilſt this preparatory mockery was carrying on, but now, the ſignal of aſſault was given, the martial muſic ſtruck up; the two field pieces were diſcharged, at the ſame time that the muſketry ſpread deſtruction and terror, the cavalry ruſhed out, and opened a way for the infantry to advance ſword in hand.

The fury of this unlooked-for attack deprived the Peruvians of the power of reſiſtance, whilſt Pizarro, with a few ſelect myrmidons, aſſaulted the Inca with the fury of ruffians, laying dead at his feet the nobles who preſſed around him to protect his ſacred perſon. Pizarro, foremoſt in the aſſault, ſeizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him from his

royal

royal seat, never more to be resumed, to the ground, and hurried him away, as the vilest criminal, to his quarters. The carnage was continued throughout the whole day, with unabating fury. More than 4000 Indians were slain, without any loss on the part of the assailants, and not a man among them was even wounded, except Pizarro, who received a slight hurt in the hand by one of his soldiers in the general eagerness to seize the Inca.

The exultations of these lawless freebooters, when they had collected the spoils of the field, knew no bounds: their plunder surpassed every thing which their most romantic hopes had figured to themselves the possession of, and their riotous transports during the night were orgies duly suited to the havoc of the day.

Some of the Spanish writers, to wipe off the foul stain which this execrable deed fixes on their countrymen, have pretended, that the Inca was not sincere in his professions of friendship, and that his numerous soldiers were provided with the means of falling upon the Spaniards and massacring them, on a proper signal being given by their sovereign; but the imputation on the unhappy Indian is utterly unsupported by any proofs, or even probable circumstances.

Atahualpa, unable to support the indignities and injuries heaped on him, gave himself up to a torpid melancholy, and Pizarro became apprehensive of losing the many advantages which he expected to

derive from holding him a prisoner; the Spaniard, therefore endeavoured to relax something of his fell nature, and to sooth the Inca with professions of kindness and respect: nor were these endeavours unavailing; the captive prince became more calm; and, rendered fully sensible of the Spaniard's strong passion for gold, he offered, as the means of procuring his enlargement, or by way of ransom, to fill the apartment in which he was confined with vessels of gold and silver as high as he could reach: it was 22 feet in length and 16 in breadth. Pizarro agreed to the conditions, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber to mark the exact height to which the treasure was to rise. The Inca immediately dispatched messengers to every part of his dominions where gold had been amassed, either for the purpose of adding splendour to the temples of their gods or the palaces of the princes; and the people, anxiously solicitous to save the life and obtain the enlargement of their sovereign, cheerfully delivered up whatever was in their possession. Could they have conceived of the unprincipled baseness and insatiable avarice of their invaders, they might even then have taken such measures as might have been rendered effectual to exterminate these robbers: had the whole force of the empire, then entire and not materially weakened, been collected, and one powerful onset made, it could scarcely have been withstood by such a handful of men. The Mexicans, by acting thus, when the force of their enemies was more than four times

times greater, and seconded by warlike allies, had very nearly triumphed, but to the Peruvians, their deliverance did not entirely depend on one powerful and well-directed effort of valour; the nature of the country was such, that a proper distribution of force would have effectually intercepted all intercourse between the party under Pizarro, then so remote from the coast, and the succours which might from time to time arrive: extensive sandy plains, encompassed with craggy rocks, where the only passage lay through dangerous defiles, gave a determined body of natives every advantage over an enemy, both in open attack and in the power of consigning them to helpless famine; but the apprehensions entertained for the life of their sovereign probably suppressed every disposition to resort to vigorous efforts. Indeed the Peruvians appear to have been reduced to such a degree of effeminacy and imbecility, that neither the most irritating cruelties, nor the most favourable circumstances for regaining their liberty and independence, were capable of rousing them to action; in pusillanimity they were sunk as much below the Mexicans, as they surpassed them in a profusion of wealth.

Whilst the hoarded treasures of Peru were thus flowing in from every quarter, Pizarro received advice that Almagro was arrived at St. Michael's with a reinforcement, which almost doubled the number of those at Caxamalca. The greatest part of the stipulated contributions which were to be the price of

the Inca's ranfom, was arrived, and the remainder was collecting in the more diftant provinces. The fight of fuch vaft piles of gold excited a maddening impatience in the greedy foldiers, and their leaders, not lefs goaded by impatience, could no longer refrain from iffuing orders for melting down the whole, except fome pieces of curious fabric, referved as a prefent for the emperor. The feftival of St. James, the patron faint of Spain (July 25th, 1533), was chofen for the purpofe of dividing this vaft booty; for fo deeply were thefe mifcreants funk in crimes, as to wifh to perfuade themfelves that the exhibition of fuch coftly fpoils, obtained by lawlefs force and the moft fraudful breach of faith, would be acceptable to the holy apoftle! Dr. Robertfon ftates, that after fetting apart the fifth due to the crown, and 100,000 pefos as a donative to the foldiers which had arrived with Almagro, there remained 1,528,500 pefos to Pizarro and his followers. Above 8000 pefos, at that time not inferior to as many pounds fterling in the prefent century, fell to the fhare of each horfeman, and half that fum to each foot foldier. *Hift. of America, 8vo. Edit. III.* 41. The precife portion poffeffed by Pizarro and his officers is not fpecified; but, taking the number of horfe and foot which compofed this army, and allotting to each man his fhare, an unappropriated furplus remains of 544,500 pefos, or more than half a million fterling, according to the value of money at that time.

The

The Inca now claimed the fulfilment of the contract, and to be set at liberty, but Pizarro cared for none of those things. With a temper yet more cruel than his predecessor and great exemplar Cortes, his savage disposition could not conceal itself under the disguise of assumed complacency and outward respect. Many of the soldiers being possessed of such a profusion of wealth, in addition to the rich spoils gained by the preceding massacre, were clamorous for their discharge, which Pizarro readily granted them, well knowing that he should reap less future benefit from the services of men so incumbered, than from the report they would make wherever they repaired, together with the proofs they carried with them, and that numbers of hardy adventurers would be excited to enlist under his banners; about 60 of them therefore accompanied his brother Ferdinand to Spain, who was dispatched with an account of his success, and carried with him a fifth part of the spoil which was laid aside for the emperor.

Atahualpa, during his confinement, had distinguished Juan Pizarro and Hernando Soto from the other Spaniards who were commonly about his person, on account of their humane and respectful behaviour toward him. When they were with him, the anguish of his mind felt a momentary relief, and he was disposed to beguile the time, by gaining information, from them, concerning European arts; among these, he was particularly struck with the practice of reading and writing, and knew not whe-

ther to consider them as a natural or acquired quality. Desirous of deciding this point, he asked a soldier who guarded him, to write the name of God on his (the Inca's) thumb; this he shewed to several Spaniards who successively entered the apartment, inquiring of them what it meant. He was surprised to find that every one instantly returned the same answer. Whilst this experiment was making, Pizarro entered, when the same question was put to him. A blush of shame suffused the face of the stern barbarian, when, by being incapable of reading the word, his ignorance became manifest. The Inca was now convinced that reading was an acquired habit, and felt a contempt for the illiterate soldier which he had not sufficient art to conceal. This detection of gross ignorance, and the apparent impression it made on the royal captive, sharpened the rage of Pizarro, whilst Almagro and his followers, newly arrived, expressed great dissatisfaction at the share assigned to them of the Inca's ransom, and were jealous of what, in future, might be acquired by those who were about his person; they therefore insisted on his immediate death, as the only means of placing them on an equal footing with the other adventurers. A form of trial in consequence took place. Pizarro, Almagro, and two others, were appointed judges by the whole body, with full powers to acquit or to condemn. An attorney-general was appointed to carry on the prosecution in the name of the king of Spain, counsellors were chosen to assist the Inca in his defence,

8 and

and clerks appointed to enter upon record the proceedings of the court, in all the mock forms of Spanish judicature. The charges on which this trial was founded, suited such a solemn abuse of justice. Atahualpa was accused of having usurped the regal power although of bastard birth; of having deposed and put to death his brother and rightful sovereign; of being an idolater; and of having sanctioned the offering up of human sacrifices; of having many concubines; of having wasted and embezzled the royal treasures during his confinement, which had become the property of the conquerors; and finally, that he had excited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. He was soon found guilty, and condemned to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde confirmed this sentence, and signed the warrant for the Inca's execution. The wretched Indian, when apprised of his fate, melted into tears; entreated that he might be sent to Spain, and there be judged by the sovereign of the country: but Pizarro was inexorable, and ordered the unhappy victim to be led to immediate execution, whilst the same execrable ecclesiastic, who had been so instrumental in producing this catastrophe, although of the order most distinguished for humanity toward the Indians, exhorted him to embrace, what he called, the Christian faith, promising him, on compliance, a mitigation of punishment. The love of life prevailed. Atahualpa agreed to receive baptism. The ceremony was performed; but the only mitigation of suffering granted to the Christian Indian was, that he should

be

be ſtrangled at the ſtake!—The enormity of ſuch proceedings occaſioned ſeveral of the followers of Pizarro openly to declare their abhorrence of ſuch violations of all laws divine and human.

One of the ſons of Atahualpa was then named Inca of Peru and Quito by Pizarro, but the people of Cuzco and its environs received Manco Capac, a brother of Huaſcar, as Inca, the latter having been aſſaſſinated whilſt in confinement by the order of Atahualpa, in conſequence of ſome attempts which he had made to bribe the Spaniards to his intereſts.

Immediately upon the execution of the Inca, uſurpers aroſe in every part of the empire, each actuated by the rage of deſtroying every deſcendant of the ſon which they could any where ſeize upon. Such were the convulſions which haſtened the diſſolution of the Peruvian empire!

Pizarro having received large additions of ſtrength, and confiding in the diſſenſions which tore the empire, marched to Cuzco. Theſe ſupplies of men were obtained in conſequence of the ſpoil which had been amaſſed; for the officers and ſoldiers who had received their diſcharge, and carried away their ſhares of the Inca's ranſom, when they arrived at Panama, ſo dazzled the eyes of their countrymen by their ſplendid acquiſitions, that the report inſtantly ſpread through all the Spaniſh ſettlements on the South Sea, and produced ſuch a general effect, that the governors could ſcarcely reſtrain the people, by the full exertion of their authority, from abandoning their poſſeſſions and haſtening in crowds to Peru.

He

He began his march, at the head of 500 men, beside a strong garrison left at St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar, an officer of great merit, and who, like every other meritorious man, a party in these nefarious deeds, was finally treated with injustice and contempt. The Indians now began to rise in arms, to oppose the farther progress of the Spaniards; but the proper season was passed, and they were every where defeated with great slaughter. Cuzco fell an easy prey to the Spanish depredator, where he possessed himself of riches surpassing even what the delusive covenant for the ransom of Atahualpa had extorted.

In the mean time, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, being continually strengthened by the arrival of new adventurers, and disdaining a state of inaction, resolved to attempt the conquest of Quito: the face of the country was extremely unfavourable to invasion, being mountainous, and thickly overspread with forests; yet, having only the difficulties of the country to surmount, he entered the capital; but the treasure expected to be found there, the hopes of possessing which had animated and supported the party to bear all their heavy weight of sufferings, had been carried off by the natives.

Ferdinand Pizarro, on his arrival in Spain (1534), astonished the whole nation with the profusion of gold and silver which he delivered into the public treasury. An acquisition so great and unexpected, so seasonably recruiting the emperor's coffers, exhausted

hausted as they were by his schemes of boundless ambition and persecuting tyranny, removed every ground of scruple how it might have been obtained. Honours and appointments were liberally conferred in recompense for such essential services: Francisco Pizarro received a confirmation of his authority, with additional powers and privileges, and a farther extent of 70 leagues along the coast to the southward of the former grant. Almagro was appointed *Adelantado* or governor, with jurisdiction over 200 leagues of country farther to the southward than those granted to Pizarro. Ferdinand was invested with the military order of St. Jago, and returned to Peru, accompanied by many persons of distinction.

Almagro, thus entitled to territories, the boundaries of which must necessarily be very inaccurately traced, laid claim to the imperial city of Cuzco, as situated within his limits; but the dissension which a contest for so valuable a possession could not fail to create, at that time subsided, by an agreement being made that he should undertake the conquest of Chili, which country he invaded at the head of 570 men. The route he chose was over the Andes: in his march he was exposed to the severest hardships, under which many of his followers perished, and when, thus worn down with extreme cold, hunger, and fatigue, they entered the plains of Chili, they found the natives prepared to oppose them; whilst robust bodies, undaunted courage, and

warlike

warlike habits, rendered them formidable enemies: much time was therefore spent in subduing them.

Pizarro, now considering the Peruvians as fully conquered, and the jarring interests between him and his colleague, though not adjusted, yet not being likely to produce a speedy rupture, employed this season of tranquillity in establishing a form of government in the extensive provinces which he had acquired. He divided the country into districts, appointed magistrates, courts of justice, and the mode of collecting the revenue, working the mines, and the treatment of the Indians. He farther extended his views to founding a city which should be the capital of a great empire. He made choice of the valley of Rimac, one of the most extensive and best cultivated spots in Peru, and there laid the foundation of a city, at the distance of six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbour in the Pacific Ocean, and named it *Ciudad de los Reyes*, "the city of the kings;" but it has since been better known to foreigners by the name of LIMA. Here he erected a magnificent palace for his own residence, and stately houses were soon constructed for his principal officers.

The spirit of the Peruvians, which until this time (1536) had appeared so abject, now began to burst forth, and to excite a general combination to oppose their tyrants; efforts which might have proved successful at an earlier period. The son of Atahualpa, who had been named the Inca, died soon after his nomination

nomination to that imaginary dignity, and Manco Capac, whom the Spaniards had afterward made use of as their regal instrument, found means to carry on a secret correspondence, and at the celebration of a grand festival the plan which had been fully matured without any suspicion being excited, appeared in a general insurrection: the standard of war was erected, and all the warriors throughout the empire were immediately in arms. The Spanish writers say 200,000 men were assembled; many Spaniards were massacred, and the city of Cuzco was attacked, in which were the three brothers of Pizarro, with a garrison consisting of no more than 170 men. At the same time the new city of Lima was invested, and all communication between the two places cut off. The siege of Cuzco continued nine months. The Peruvians collected the swords, the spears, and the bucklers, which had been obtained from the Spaniards who had been killed or taken, and armed their most expert warriors with those weapons; attempting to form them according to the Spanish rules of military discipline: even the muskets of the Spaniards were turned against themselves. The Inca himself, and some of his boldest followers, mounted the horses which they had taken, and adopted the Spanish method of charging the enemy with lances. Manco Capac obtained possession of one half of the city; and in the course of the siege, Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of the brothers, with several other persons of note, were slain.

ſlain. When the beſieged were driven to the laſt extremity, Almagro with his detachment appeared. He had received the royal patent which appointed him governor of Chili, and defined its limits, within which he was fully aſſured Cuzco lay, and he appeared before it to gain its poſſeſſion by force of arms.

After defeating and diſperſing the Peruvians, Almagro made himſelf maſter of Cuzco, when the two ſurviving brothers of Pizarro, Ferdinand and Gonzalo, became his priſoners.

In the mean time Franciſco Pizarro having received large reinforcements from the Spaniſh colonies, totally routed the Peruvians who had aſſailed him; after which he found himſelf enabled to detach 500 men, under the command of Alonzo de Alvarado, to the relief of his brothers at Cuzco, of whom he had heard no tidings for nine months.

The ſuperior generalſhip of Almagro enabled him to baffle this attack; he ſurpriſed his enemy by night, took Alvarado priſoner, and ſeveral of his principal officers.

Although Almagro had been a ſoldier and an adventurer through a long life, being then ſeventy-five years of age, he had not acquired that degree of inſenſibility and deſperate boldneſs which were neceſſary, in the ſituation he then was, to decide the conteſt between himſelf and Pizarro. Orgognez, his principal officer, was leſs ſcrupulous; for he adviſed that Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, together with

 Alvarado,

Alvarado, ſhould be put to death, and that Almagro ſhould immediately march in full force to Lima; but the counſel, in both inſtances, was rejected, and he reſolved to wait the approach of his enemy at Cuzco. The crafty Pizarro profited by this moderation; he amuſed Almagro with negociation, whilſt Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to eſcape from confinement and to repair to Lima. The governor, ſecured from all apprehenſions concerning one of his brothers, propoſed to Almagro that the juſtice of their reſpective claims ſhould be referred to the court of Spain, and that his captive brother Ferdinand ſhould be liberated, and deputed on that buſineſs on the part of the governor, and accompany the deputies ſent on the part of Almagro, whoſe unſuſpecting nature was ſuch, that he ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by ſo ſhallow an artifice, practiſed by a man whoſe ſincerity was ever to be ſtrongly ſuſpected.

No ſooner had Ferdinand Pizarro regained his liberty, than his brother the governor threw off the maſk, and declared that the poſſeſſion of Peru muſt be held by him who could obtain it by force of arms; to effect which, he preſently muſtered 700 men, and gave the command of this armament to his two brothers.

Almagro waited their approach in the plain of Cuzco: he had ſcarcely 500 men; the defections from his cauſe having been conſiderable; in cavalry he exceeded his enemies: each party was eager to engage;

engage; whilst the mountains which encompassed the plain were covered with Indians assembled to behold the gratifying spectacle of the self-destruction of the Spaniards. The event of this battle was the entire defeat of Almagro's party, and himself made prisoner. (April 26, 1538.)

The Indians, although assembled in vast numbers, had not the courage to descend from the mountains, and fall upon the Spaniards, now fatigued and exhausted by so severe a conflict. Most of the followers of Almagro joined the standard of the governor, whilst he remained for several months a prisoner; but was at length brought to a trial, on a charge of high treason, and condemned to die. This sentence quite broke the spirit of a man, who had so often faced death in the field of battle: although worn down with age and infirmities, his fondness for life led him to supplicate his conquerors; but the two Pizarros, who owed their lives to his clemency, were inexorable, whilst pity touched their followers. Almagro no sooner found that his remonstrances and solicitations were unavailing, than he resumed a fortitude worthy of the reputation he had acquired in arms: he was strangled in prison and afterward publicly beheaded. He left one son, by an Indian woman of Panama, whom he appointed his successor in his government. This youth was then at Lima, in the custody of Pizarro.

Some of the principal men who had fought for Almagro, and did not choose to remain in the coun-

try after his defeat and death, returned to Spain, and were the firſt to carry an account of the civil diſſenſions in Peru; whilſt they repreſented the conduct of the Pizarros in the blackeſt colours. Ferdinand Pizarro arrived there ſoon after; he in vain attempted to efface the impreſſion which the charges brought againſt himſelf and his two brothers had made. To ſettle theſe diſputes, to reſtore tranquillity to the country, and ſecure to Spain the advantages to be derived from ſo valuable an acquiſition, Chriſtoval Vaca de Caſtro, a judge in the royal audience at Valladolid, was ſent out with large diſcretionary powers. If he found the governor living he was to aſſume no other title than that of judge; but if he ſhould be dead, Caſtro received a commiſſion, appointing him governor of Peru; but at the time when ſuch regard was paid to the conqueror, his brother Ferdinand was taken into cuſtody, and kept in confinement, which continued for twenty years.

The turbulent ſpirits and profligate conduct of the people who had overrun Peru, were utterly repugnant to general tranquillity, and the progreſſive advance of a new ſtate into order and melioration. In the year 1541, the ſon of Almagro arrived at manhood; having been educated with great care, and poſſeſſing engaging manners, all the late followers of his father, who had been treated with great neglect and injuſtice by Pizarro in every diſtribution which had ſince been made, placed their hopes of obtaining

obtaining redreſs in supporting this young man, and overthrowing the tyrant. The leader of theſe malcontents was named Herrada: the plot was faſt ripening, and the proceedings having been noticed by ſome of the adherents to the governor, he was cautioned to be on his guard; but he, diſdaining to attend to the machinations of men whom he had reduced to a ſtate of poverty, replied, "Be under no apprehenſions for my ſafety, for be aſſured there is nothing to fear, ſince every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought againſt me." The ſecurity in which this fearleſs deſpot repoſed proved in the event fatal; for Herrada, at the head of 18 men, entered his palace, in open day, proceeded through ſeveral apartments, putting to death all who oppoſed them, till forcing their way into the tyrant's receſs, he fell, after having reſolutely withſtood, for ſome time, the force of the aſſailants. This bold aſſaſſination threw the whole country into the moſt violent commotion: the engaging manners of young Almagro procured him many adherents, but the attachments to the late governor predominated; his brother Gonzalo Pizarro, who had ſuperſeded Benalcazar in the government of Quito, was not at hand to aſſert his right to the vacant government.

In this perturbed ſtate of affairs Vaca de Caſtro arrived, and, in conſequence of the death of Franciſco Pizarro, produced the royal appointment which conſtituted him governor, and his authority

was

was acknowledged wherever he came. On the 16th Sept. 1542, a decisive battle was fought between the army led on by de Castro and the followers of young Almagro; but Herrada, his chief support, had died before this event. One thousand four hundred men were engaged on both sides, and so furious was the conflict, that five hundred were slain; but in the result Vaca de Castro became victorious, for which success he was greatly indebted to the military skill and personal bravery of Francisco de Carvajal, an old and experienced officer, who had been deeply engaged in the wars of Italy. Castro then proceeded to try his prisoners as rebels: forty of whom were condemned to death as traitors, and others were banished from Peru; young Almagro was publicly beheaded at Cuzco.

Whilst the new governor was proceeding to restore order to the distracted country, Charles V. whose attention was at length drawn to render his vast possessions in America permanent and advantageous, at the same time apparently compassionating the case of the oppressed natives, for he had consulted Las Casas upon that grand point, caused a body of laws to be framed for America, which tended to lessen the power and consequence of the new settlers, to prevent the landed possessions which they had acquired from descending to their heirs in certain cases, where the *repartimientos* or shares of land seized appeared to be excessive. The Indians were exempted from personal service, were not compellable to carry the

burdens

burdens of travellers, to labour in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fisheries. These regulations were entirely dictated by the emperor, for all his ministers who had conducted the affairs of America remonstrated against them as ruinous; but Charles persisted in enforcing his plan, and sent Francisco Tello de Sandoval to Mexico, to co-operate with Antonino de Mendoza, the viceroy there; at the same time he sent Balsco Nugnez Vela to Peru, as governor, with the title of viceroy, and appointed a court of royal audience composed of four eminent lawyers.

In the year 1543 these new officers failed from Spain for their different destinations of Mexico and Peru. In the former government, the new regulations produced no open act of opposition, but in the latter, they excited the most violent ferment; unaccustomed to wholesome restraints, rendered arrogant by their newly acquired wealth, and habituated to treat the natives as abject slaves, the discontent was so general, and rose to such a height before the arrival of the viceroy and judges, that the prudent and calm reasoning of Vaca de Castro could scarcely so far appease the people, as to induce them to permit the newly appointed officers to land, when they arrived at Tumbez (4th March 1543). Nugnez Vela entirely disregarded the opposition he might have to encounter: confiding in the plenitude of his power, his natural haughtiness of spirit disdained to assume a gentleness of manners in order to effect his

determined purpose of carrying into full effect all the laws, and the entire form of government, which he was sent to introduce; he therefore began to exercise the functions entrusted to him by the emperor in the highest style of authority. The Indians were every where declared to be free, as he proceeded to Lima; at that capital of the new empire, where he was to commence all his irritative operations, his consequential deportment disgusted a people who were little accustomed to reverence legal authority. Several persons of rank were confined; and some put to death without any form of trial. The former governor, Vaca de Castro, was seized upon, imprisoned, and even put in chains, whilst the cause of such treatment to a man who had employed the latest period of his high station in appeasing the general spirit of revolt, is not assigned, by the particular charges being adduced. A conduct so rash and destructive met the fate it merited: the Spaniards, every where ripe for revolt, were soon unanimous in a leader. Gonzalo Pizarro was named at Cuzco, "procurator general of the Spanish nation in Peru," and in that capacity he was empowered to lay their general remonstrances before the royal audience at Lima. Even a Pizarro scrupled for some time to accept an authority repugnant to that of the sovereign in whose dominion he was born, and where he had imbibed his infantile lessons, which had inculcated little more than a reverence for the king and the pope; first principles are as indelible as though innate.

When

When Pizarro accepted the appointment, he made himself master of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery, and in this state of hostility he proceeded to Lima. An open rupture had broken out between the viceroy and the four judges, between whom dissensions arose to such an height, that the former was seized upon, and conveyed to a desert island on the coast, and there kept in confinement until he could be sent to Spain. Cepeda, the president of the court of audience, held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, who was likewise very ably supported by Carvajal, who marched into the city by night, seized such general officers as were adverse to Pizarro, and hanged them without the form of a trial. These violent measures extorted from the court of audience the commission in the emperor's name which Pizarro required. The viceroy, who had been put on board a ship to proceed to Spain, was set at liberty by the captain who commanded the vessel, he declaring his readiness to obey the viceroy's commands. Nugnez Vela then gave orders to be landed at Tumbez, and on arriving there, he erected the royal standard and resumed his functions of viceroy. He was joined by several persons of note. Pizarro lost no time in marching to attack him, and being at the head of a much superior force, Nugnez Vela was compelled to retreat, and at length entered Popayan, where Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, and the deposed governor, joined him, at the head of four

four hundred men. With this additional force the viceroy marched forward to give battle to Pizarro. In the action which followed Nugnez Vela was slain; his head was cut off and placed on the public gibbet at Quito. Every thing then submitted to Pizarro, his authority in Peru was acknowledged, his fleet, commanded by Pedro di Hinojosa, rode triumphant on the South Sea; he had taken Panama, and garrisoned Nombre de Dios on the opposite side of the isthmus, which gave him the entire possession of the only course of communication at that time used between Spain and Peru. Elated with this vast accession of power, Pizarro and his followers gave themselves up to the most licentious indulgences, with that riotous spirit usual among low adventurers upon extraordinary success.

In this situation of things Carvajal strongly urged Pizarro to take the bold and decisive step of renouncing all allegiance to the emperor; and, in order to establish himself in independent sovereignty, he counselled him to be liberal in grants to the Spaniards; to conciliate the natives by marrying the *Coya*, or daughter of the sun, who was next in succession to the crown; to institute orders of nobility and honorary titles. This advice was enforced by Cepeda the lawyer. The ambition of Pizarro led him cordially to approve it, but he was not possessed of sufficient daring to proceed to such extremities: he chose rather to obtain, by a repre-

sentation

ſentation to the Spaniſh court, a confirmation of the grant he had aſſumed.

Charles V. now made ſenſible that lenient and temporizing meaſures alone could ſecure to him the valuable poſſeſſion of Peru, ſelected a man for that important purpoſe of a diſpoſition entirely different to that of Nugnez Vela his late viceroy. He made choice of Pedro de la Gaſca, a prieſt, in no higher ſtation than that of counſellor to the inquiſition, but of ſuch moderation, that he refuſed a biſhopric which was offered him, in order that he might appear with more conſequence, and would accept of no other official appointment than that of preſident of the court of audience in Lima, and declared that he would receive no ſalary; but he required very unlimited powers to ſettle the government of Peru; ſuch as, to be authorized to pardon, to puniſh, to reward as occaſion might require; that in caſe of reſiſtance he ſhould reduce the diſaffected to obedience by force of arms. The Spaniſh miniſtry objected to the delegation of ſuch authority, conſidering powers ſo extenſive as totally inadmiſſible; but the emperor ſaw the propriety of beſtowing ſuch a truſt upon ſo momentous an occaſion. Pedro de la Gaſca ſet out on the 26th of May 1546.

When Pizarro heard of Gaſca's arrival at Panama, and of the nature of his miſſion, he determined to oppoſe his entrance into Peru, or exerciſing any juriſdiction there. He then ſent a deputation to

 Spain.

Spain, for the purpose of juſtifying his conduct, and tranſmitted a requeſt, ſigned by all the communities in Peru, for the confirmation of the government to himſelf for life, as the only means of preſerving tranquillity there. While he endeavoured to intimidate Gaſca by theſe appearances of ſtrong ſupport, he privately made a tender to him of 50,000 peſos if he would return to Spain without proceeding to exerciſe the authority with which he was inveſted; as the laſt expedient he gave ſecret orders, in caſe Gaſca remained obſtinate, to cut him off either by aſſaſſination or poiſon.

There were at that time 6000 Spaniards ſettled in Peru, and on their ſupport Pizarro confidently relied; but in this dependance he was fatally deceived, for Hinojoſa, who commanded the fleet, and who was intruſted with all theſe ſecret orders, diſdaining to be the inſtrument of ſuch meaſures, openly declared for Gaſca and the cauſe of the emperor. His example was followed by the fleet, alſo by the garriſons at Panama and Nombre de Dios.

Pizarro, driven to deſperation by this powerful defection from his cauſe, procured the court of audience at Lima to proceed to the trial of Gaſca, upon the charges of having ſeized his ſhips, ſeduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding on their voyage to Spain. Gaſca was found guilty by this court, of treaſon, and condemned to death. Supported by this deciſion of a court of judicature,

Pizarro

Pizarro got together an army composed of 1000 men.

Gasca, little regarding a sentence so obtained, became convinced that force must be employed; he therefore exerted himself in levying troops from the different settlements on the continent, in which he succeeded so well that he was able to detach a part of his fleet, with a considerable body of troops, to the coast of Peru. These found means to disperse copies of an act of general indemnity, and a revocation of the late edicts. Such conciliatory measures produced a great effect: all who were dissatisfied with Pizarro's arbitrary administration, or retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, became adverse to the power assumed. Centeno, an officer of considerable weight and ability, who had attached himself to Pizarro, being disgusted at the treatment he had received, returned to his allegiance, and took possession of Cuzco, although garrisoned by 500 men.

Pizarro first directed his march against him, in which attack he could only retain 400 men, but aided by the great military talents of Carvajal, he gained a complete victory. At that time all his adherents were men so loaded with crimes that they had every thing to dread from a due exertion of legal authority. The spoils acquired by this victory were very great, and the treatment of the vanquished merciless.

Gasca about the same time landed at Tumbez, with

with 500 men. Encouraged by his presence every settlement in the low countries declared for the king. The situation of the two parties was now entirely reversed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were possessed by Pizarro, whilst all the rest of the empire, from Quito southward, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the president. The gentle and conciliating conduct of Gasca gained him many adherents; although desirous of peace, he did not slacken his preparations for war. He fixed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xaruxa, on the road to Cuzco, where he remained for some months, in hopes of accommodating matters, and in order to train his soldiers to the use of arms and military discipline; but Pizarro, finding himself at the head of 1000 men, and elated with his success, refused to listen to any terms, although his two most experienced advisers, Carvajal and Cepeda, urged him to accept the president's offer of a general indemnity and the revocation of the obnoxious laws.

All prospect of an accommodation being at an end, on the 29th of December, 1547, Gasca began to move toward Cuzco, at the head of 1600 men; he advanced without opposition to within four leagues of that capital, when Pizarro marched out to give him battle. Carvajal chose the ground with great judgment. When the two armies were on the point of engaging, Cepeda, setting spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president;

dent; his example was followed by several other officers, and a general defection in the troops ensued. Pizarro seeing every thing irretrievably lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us rush," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's foremost battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected at such a reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel, and with a tameness, disgraceful to his former fame, surrendered himself to one of Gasca's officers. Carvajal endeavouring to escape, was made prisoner.

Pizarro was beheaded on the day after his surrender; he submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was suited to his life: on his trial he offered no defence; when the sentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between his sentence and execution, he discovered no sign either of remorse for the past or of solicitude for the future: scoffing at all who visited him in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and gross pleasantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda's treachery, although of the blackest kind, did not subject him to a like fate, for the merit of having deserted his associates at such a critical moment, and with such decisive effect, saved him from immediate punishment;

ment; he was sent, however, as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement.

Gasca having done every thing which moderation, disinterestedness, and wisdom, dictated, although his impartial distribution of lands and Indians excited a general clamour of discontent, set out on his return to Spain, February 1st, 1550, having committed the government of Peru to the court of audience. He carried with him the arrears of the royal revenue, amounting to 1,300,000 pesos, after having paid all the expences of the war.

Gasca's reception in Spain was such as his great abilities and services entitled him to receive. No more than 3000 ducats had been disbursed in fitting him out on an expedition which had effected such important reforms in Peru; all which had been brought about by the disinterested virtue and superior wisdom of this extraordinary man. "After distributing among his countrymen," says Dr. Robertson, "possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time, when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his service. Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguishing marks of esteem, and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed

passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honoured by his sovereign, and beloved by all." *History of America*, 8vo Edit. III. 147.

It was not to be supposed that salutary laws should be uniformly submitted to in succeeding years by such men as the Spaniards settled in Peru; but although insurrections and rebellions did break out, which at different times created much commotion and misery in the country, yet the power of the Spanish monarchy gradually acquired strength and ascendency; a more quiet and tractable race of men succeeded to the fierce despoilers of the unhappy Indians, and the tyranny of despotic regal rule has now, for two centuries, been fully established there, as in every other of the Spanish possessions in the western world.

CHAP. XIV.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE English, conducted by John Cabot, in the year 1497 (although the discovery has generally, but erroneously, been attributed to his second son Sebastian, who at that time could not have been more than twenty years of age), found the way to North America soon after Columbus had successfully crossed the Atlantic; but as the torrents in that country brought down no gold, and the Indians were not bedecked with any costly ornaments, no attempts were made to explore the country for near a century after its discovery. Sir Francis Drake, who traversed the whole circumference of the globe in one voyage, and in one ship (A. D. 1577, &c.), which had never been achieved before, when afterward annoying the Spaniards in the West Indies, and on the main, gained some knowledge of the eastern shore of the northern continent, as he had before of the western parts on the Pacific Ocean, about the same parallel. Sir Walter Raleigh, however, was the first navigator who explored the coast, bestowed on it a name, and attempted to settle a colony (A. D. 1584); but the lands were over-

spread

ſpread with thick woods, the caprices of a ſavage race were to be ſoothed, their jealouſies of new ſettlers to be removed, or their power to be oppoſed; and, when all theſe difficulties ſhould be ſurmounted, the coloniſts muſt continue ſubject to the firſt condemnatory ſentence denounced on the human race, "by the ſweat of their brow to eat their bread."

At that time colonization made no part of the ſyſtem of government, ſo that there were few ſtimulents to abandon a native ſoil for the purpoſe of ſeeking poſſeſſions in another hemiſphere. At length a powerful incentive aroſe, ſtronger than the influence of kings, than the love of eaſe, than the dread of miſery. Religion, which had long been converted into the moſt powerful engine which human ſubtilty ever made uſe of to ſubjugate the maſs of mankind, no ſooner ceaſed to be ſo perverted, than by its own proper force it impelled large bodies of people to renounce every preſent enjoyment, the inſtinctive love of a native ſoil, rooted habits, and deareſt connections, and to ſettle in the dreary wilds of a far diſtant continent.

When England, by a very ſingular concurrence of circumſtances, threw off the papal yoke, ſtate policy ſo predominated in the meaſure, that the conſciences of men were ſtill required to bend to the diſcipline, conform to the ceremonials, and aſſent to the doctrines which the governing powers eſtabliſhed. Although a diſſent from the church of Rome was

 conſidered

considered as meritorious, yet a dissent from the church of England, was held to be heretical, and an offence to be punished by the civil magistrate. The human mind, somewhat awakened from a long suspension of its powers by a Wickcliffe, farther enlightened by an Erasmus and Melancthon, and at length called forth into energy by the collision of those two ardent and daring spirits Luther and Calvin, then began to bend all its attention toward religious inquiries; and exercised all its powers in such pursuits. Hence arose a vast diversity of opinions, which gave rise to numerous sects and denominations of Christians; but as the protestant establishment in England held it essential to preserve a unity of faith, those novel opinions obtained no more quarter there than under papal power.

The eastern coast of North America, comprehending a vast extent of country, was considered as of right belonging to England, and was then known by no other names than those of North and South Virginia, which it had received from Sir Walter Raleigh. The persecuted and desperate religionists easily obtained a royal grant of a very extensive track of land, whither they repaired, not to amass wealth, or to exterminate the inhabitants, but to subsist by industry, to purchase security by honourable intercourse with the natives, and to acquire strength under the auspices of freedom. The establishment made by the quakers, under the conduct of Penn, realized these professions; in other parts a spirit of

intolerance too much prevailed, and insidious arts were practised on the Indians, which soon excited rancorous animosity in those tribes. The Spaniards had found the southern division of this vast continent peopled with a pusillanimous and defenceless race of men, whom they sacrificed without scruple or remorse to their ambition and avarice; the European settlers on the coast of North America were not actuated by such a cruel and exterminating spirit; they had juster notions of the rights of man: they also found the inhabitants of that country possessing very different characteristics, less numerous indeed than toward the south, but subsisting by hunting, expert in the use of offensive weapons, sagacious, persevering, not insensible of kindnesses conferred, but implacable when offended, and ever gratifying their revenge by means the most artful, concealed, and cruel. An acquaintance with Europeans has ever been baneful to uncivilized communities in all parts of the globe. These Indians soon discovered a fondness for spirituous liquors, with which the artful traders were too ready to supply them; by the excessive use of these, their natural ferocity has been increased, their passions inflamed, their best principles perverted, diseases never before known introduced, their lives shortened, and their numbers rapidly reduced.

The attention and assistance which Great Britain gave to these colonies increased with the increasing commercial spirit of the nation; indeed, the English Americans may be said to have been, like Minerva,

 born

born adult: no age of barbariſm involved in obſcurity and ignorance the early period of their exiſtence. Arts and ſciences were cultivated ere their woods were cleared; their minds were enlarged without their manners being depraved. The foſtering hand of Great Britain nurſed the riſing genius of the colonies, and an immenſe expanſe of country taught them to contemplate on futurity with exultation. Their towns were built far from the din of war; their people had multiplied amidſt the bleſſings of peace; their ſituation and employments rendered them robuſt and enterpriſing, without becoming ſanguinary. The inroads of the Indians, thoſe aborigines, whoſe territory they had in moſt inſtances rather ſeized upon than honourably purchaſed, were confined to their back ſettlements, and ſerved to keep them attentive without endangering the general ſafety. The apprehenſions from the encroachments of the French were diſpelled ſoon after they had been ſeriouſly entertained, and the fortunate termination of that four years' conflict ſerved to teach them to value a ſecurity which then became permanent. Civil commotions and inteſtine wars have ſtained with blood every kingdom and ſtate, both in ancient and modern times: the Americans were not to expect an exemption from the common lot of humanity; and the time at length arrived, when the horrors and deſolations of war were to overſpread the country.

Perhaps no event in the hiſtory of the world has been more important than the revolution in America, which the contentions between the mother country

and

and the colonies produced, by the erection of so many independent, but confederated republics on that continent. The pursuits of America must now be directed to different objects. Whilst colonists, they were perhaps become too much a commercial people: as states, agriculture will demand their first and chief attention. The immense country to the westward is now likely to be brought much sooner into a state of cultivation than if they had continued colonies; population may be expected to advance in a proportion hitherto unknown; and, among a people enjoying such advantages, the human mind ought to be exercised, and its powers enlarged, without being depraved; simplicity of manners, uncontaminated by the impatience of becoming rich, should prevail; and the favoured Americans be known as a people exemplary for integrity in their dealings, for honour, and public virtue.

BOUNDARIES.] By the definitive treaty of peace between the king of Great Britain and the United States of America, which was executed at Paris, on the 3d of September, 1783, the boundaries of these states are fixed to extend on the N. from Nova Scotia, across the four great lakes of Ontario, Eric, Huron, and Superior, assigning to the states the southern half of each, and in the latter the islands Royal and Philippeaux; lake Michigan they possess entire: though these lakes have ever been considered as making a part of Canada, and no new regulation of limits has excluded them. This boundary is far-

ther extended through the centre of the lake of the Woods to its moſt weſtern point. It may be ſuppoſed that a want of acquaintance with the geography of the country has cauſed it to be added from thence on a due Weſt courſe to the river Miſſiſſippi," for if the boundary is carried due Weſt, it will reach the Pacific Ocean, about one degree of latitude South of Nootka Sound. The line, in order to touch the Miſſiſſippi, ſhould have been carried from the weſtern ſide of the lake of the Woods due South. In conſequence of this inaccuracy no boundary is ſettled throughout a ſpace of near three degrees of latitude; it being reſumed along the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi to thirty-one degrees North latitude, where that river begins to divide Weſt Florida from Louiſiana. The American States are bounded on the South by the two Floridas. They poſſeſs all the eaſtern coaſt from the mouth of the river St. Croix, in the bay of Fundy, to St. Mary's river, which divides Georgia from Eaſt Florida, and all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores.

The ſtates with whom the king of Great Britain concluded this treaty were, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's Bay, Rhode Iſland with Providence Plantation. Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

These ſtates, in their fulleſt extent, compriſe eighteen degrees of latitude, and thirty-three degrees of longitude; they are deſcribed as being

1250 miles in length, and 1030 in breadth: reaching from thirty-one degrees to forty-nine degrees North latitude, and from fifty-one degrees to eighty-four degrees West longitude from Greenwich; but as the Americans have fixed their meridian at the city of Philadelphia, the extent in longitude from that city is, from nine degrees East to twenty-four degrees West.

Although the longitudinal extent is laid down to be nearly double to the latitudinal, yet the limits are so intersected on the northward, that toward the N. W. coast it lies in forty-five degrees, except a small district of land, which reaches to almost forty-seven degrees; but in the interior country, on lake Erie, the boundary is on forty-two degrees: its greatest extent is on the coast, toward the N. E. where only it is forty-nine degrees. Its longitudinal extent, from New England on the E. to a little below Nootka Sound on the W. comprehends the whole continental breadth, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and it is only in that part that its breadth is 1030 miles.

Mr. Hutchins, the late geographer of the United States, computed that the surface contained within the boundaries so described, is one million of square miles, which comprehends six hundred and forty millions of acres; and he computes that of these, fifty-one millions are water, or about two twenty-fifth parts of the whole: so that the land within the United States amounts to five hundred and eighty-nine

nine millions of acres; about three-fifths of which is comprised within the states which now compose the union; the remaining two hundred and twenty millions of acres, which lie West of the northern and middle states, and N. W. of the river Ohio, and extend to the river Mississippi, together with an extensive territory South of the Ohio, originally ceded to the United States, by North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, forms what is usually denominated "the western territory."

GOVERNMENT.] A general Congress was first held at Philadelphia, in September 1774, and was composed of delegates chosen by the houses of representatives of each of the twelve old colonies; Georgia alone being unrepresented in that assembly, but it afterward acceded, and the number of members then amounted to fifty-four, and a president; two years after, the number was reduced to forty-eight. In this assembly each colony had no more than a single voice, whether its deputation was more or less numerous; so that a contrariety of opinion among the deputies from any particular colony, if the majority were in favour of the measure, did not occasion a dissenting voice in the congress; the sense of any colony could not be taken if its deputies were equally divided in their opinions; which was likely frequently to occur, as seven of the colonies sent either two or four deputies; the other five were represented by three, five, seven, or nine.

In the year 1776 Congress, by a solemn act, re-

 nounced

nounced allegiance to the king of Great Britain, and declared the American colonies to be Independent States. In March, 1781, articles of confederation were ratified; and the ſtyle of the confederation was ſettled to be, "United States of America." The particular articles agreed upon by this compact need not here be ſpoken of, as in a convention of all the ſtates, which was held at New York, where General Waſhington preſided, a new conſtitution was agreed upon, from which the delegates from Rhode Iſland alone diſſented. It conſiſted of ſeven articles, which were tranſmitted to Congreſs for their approbation, which having received, in the year 1789, General Waſhington was choſen preſident of the Congreſs thus formed.

This new ſyſtem of republican government retains much of the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution; and thoſe two eſſential ſecurities to individuals in their perſons and their property, the habeas corpus act and trial by jury, are retained. It unites the American States in a much cloſer confederation than the Helvetic union brought the Swiſs Cantons, or even than the compact entered into by the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands placed the Dutch. Indeed, in many important points, it is ſuch a form of government as the world had not before ſeen. The moſt effectual meaſures ſeem to have been taken to remove what was formerly a fruitful ſource of animoſity and diſſenſion among the colonies, the unde-

fined

fined bounds of their respective territories, as every state has now renounced all right of deciding upon their claims, and has agreed that they shall be laid before Congress, and decided upon by that assembly as a court of judicature. In this new form of government the several independent states may be said to have delegated to Congress all the functions of government, except retaining their interior constitution, but deprived of the power of levying duties on merchandize, of equipping ships of war, of making foreign alliances, or waging war; for, as the preamble to the new constitution expresses it, in the federal government of these states, "it is impossible to secure all right of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all."

The president of the congress, the senate, and representatives, form a legislative body somewhat similar to the king, lords, and commons of Great Britain, in that every act of congress must have a majority of votes in the two houses, and receive the assent of the president, before it can pass into a law; but the American constitution differs in many particulars: the president of the congress has not a power absolutely to negative any bill, he can only refuse his assent, and at the same time is required to assign the reasons on which he founds his refusal; the business is then to undergo a fresh discussion in both houses, and the bill must be passed by two thirds of the members

members of each houſe, which conſtitutes it a law without the concurrence of the preſident.

No ſpecific portion of property, whether real or perſonal, is required to be poſſeſſed as a qualification, either for a repreſentative, a ſenator, the vice-preſident, or the preſident. Nor is any one excluded on account of the religious principles which he profeſſes, whatever they may be; ſo that Jews or Roman Catholics are as eligible as any other citizens. The houſe of repreſentatives are choſen every two years by the people of the ſeveral ſtates. The only legal requiſites in a candidate are his having attained to to twenty-five years of age; having been ſeven years a citizen of the United States; and, at the time of his election, an inhabitant of the ſtate by which he is choſen; the holding of any place of honour, truſt, or emolument, is an abſolute diſqualification. In this repreſentation there is no diſtinction of knights, citizens, and burgeſſes; it not being made out of counties, cities, and borough towns; for the excluſive rights and peculiar privileges of corporations are entirely unknown here. The deſign of the new conſtitution is that the number of repreſentatives in congreſs ſhall not exceed one repreſentative for every 30,000, but that each ſtate ſhall have at leaſt one repreſentative. An enumeration or cenſus of inhabitants was to be made within three years after the firſt meeting of the congreſs of the United States (it was made much ſooner), and a freſh enumeration made within every ſubſequent term of ten years.

In

In the year 1790, a census was made of all the inhabitants; when they were classed under the following heads, the result of which enquiry is stated below.

Free white males, from sixteen years of age and upward, - - -	807,094
Free white males under sixteen, - -	794,900
Free white females, without discrimination of age,	1,541,263
All other free persons, of either sex, and all ages,	59,150
Slaves, - - -	694,280
	3,896,687
The south west territory was found to contain inhabitants, in the whole, to the amount of -	35,691
	3,732,378

To the honour of the state formed by Mayne and Massachusetts there was not a slave there. Virginia had 292,627, and Pennsylvania 3,737.

The present state of representation is, arranging the several states according to the time when each acceded to the general confederacy,

Delaware	1
Pennsylvania	13
New Jersey	5
Georgia	2
Connecticut	7
Maine	2
Massachusetts	12
Maryland	8
South Carolina	6
New Hampshire	4
Virginia	19
New York	10
North Carolina	10

The above twelve states acceded to the new constitution in the year 1789.

Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.	2
Vermont, January 10, 1791.	2
Kentucky, June 1, 1792.	3
	105

The

The salaries paid to the great officers who conduct the affairs of government are,

The president of the Congress, and commander in chief of the military and naval forces, 25,000 dollars. (5300 *l.* sterling.)

Vice-president, and president of the Senate, 5,000 dollars. (1060 *l.*)

The speaker of the House of Representatives, twelve dollars per diem during his attendance. (2*l.* 11*s.*)

The members of the Senate and House of Representatives, six dollars (1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*) for every day's attendance; as well as for every twenty miles travelling to and from the seat of government.

The secretary of the Senate and clerk of the House of Representatives each 1,500 dollars. (320*l.*)

The chief justice of the supreme court, 4000 dollars, (850*l.*) and four associated justices, 3,500 dollars each.

The estimated amount of foreign debt, on the 4th of August 1790, when an act was passed to make provision for the debts incurred, appeared to be 11,710,378 dollars, or 2,488,455 pounds sterling; the estimated amount of the domestic debt, with the arrears of interest to the 31st December 1790, as reported to the House of Representatives by their secretary, was,

Liquidated,	40,414,085
Unliquidated,	2,000,000
Dollars,	42,414,085

or 9,012,992 pounds sterling. To discharge which, a subscription was opened for a loan, on the 30th of September 1793, and nearly a sufficient sum was subscribed; the amount being 39,635,248 dollars.

The American states in their house of commons are not represented by above one third of the number by which the people of Great Britain are represented in their house, calculating upon the supposed population of each country.

The senate of the United States, which may be considered as the upper house of parliament, is composed of two senators from each state, chosen, not from the people at large, but from the legislature thereof. No one can be chosen a senator who has not attained to thirty years of age, who has not been nine years a citizen,

a citizen, and is not a resident in the state where he is chosen: he cannot hold any place of honour, trust, or profit. These senators, when assembled, are to be divided into three classes; those in the first class shall vacate their seats at the expiration of the second year; those of the second class, at the end of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year.

The president of the United States, in whom is vested the executive power, and who must not be under thirty-five years of age, is chosen by the nomination of each state, who for this purpose names two, and the person upon whom the largest number of suffrages falls obtains this distinguished rank, which is held for four years. In like manner the vice-president is to be elected, and for the same term. The latter is president of the senate. The president, vice-president, senate, and representatives, are to be paid for their services at a rate to be settled by law, and out of the treasury of the United States.

As the first regulation, by which each state had only one vote in congress, is abolished, and the majority of voices among the representatives now carry a question, the weight of interest which the largest colonies possess in that house may be considered as greatly predominating over the smaller states, who send only one or two representatives each; but as the senate is composed of two delegates from every state, and no bill can pass into a law without the concurrence

currence of that houſe, the intereſt of each ſtate is equally maintained there. The executive powers of the preſident are likewiſe ſubject to the advice and control of the ſenate; by which participation of power each ſtate has an equal opportunity of being informed of the ſecret meaſures which are purſuing by government, and an equal power of enforcing or checking them.

That both the legiſlative and executive branches of government, over more than three millions of people, ſhould be placed, when firſt formed, in the hands of only ninety-three perſons, might be conſidered as dangerous to the pure principles of a republican conſtitution, by tending to cauſe it to degenerate into an ariſtocracy; but the moſt effectual precautions ſeem to have been taken to repreſs the ſpirit of ambition, and views of aggrandizement inherent in human nature, by every individual being choſen for a ſhort term, from his being inhibited from enjoying any kind of poſt, or receiving, without permiſſion, any kind of preſent.

The preſident, by virtue of his office, is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the ſeveral ſtates when called into the actual ſervice of the union. He has power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences againſt the United Sates, except in caſes of impeachment. With the advice and conſent of the ſenate, he has the power to make treaties, but the concur-

rence of two thirds of the senators present is necessary to render such an act valid. He nominates, and, with the advice and consent of the senate, appoints ambassadors, consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, not otherwise appointed by the constitution. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He receives ambassadors, and other public ministers, and is empowered to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

The congress has the power to impose and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, are to be uniform throughout the United States. To borrow money on the credit of the United States. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, also among the several states, and with the Indian tribes. To coin money, to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin; and to fix the standard of weights and measures. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court. To declare war, grant letters of mark and reprisal. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years. [The British constitution restrains it to a single year.] To provide and maintain a navy.

To

To provide for, call forth, arm, and discipline the militia: each state to appoint the officers of their militia, and to possess the authority of training them, according to the discipline prescribed by congress. All bills for raising a revenue to originate in the house of representatives. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion, or invasion, the public safety may require it. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditure of all public money shall be published from time to time. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state. Each particular state is, by this confederation, debarred from entering into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, or grant any title of nobility. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection-laws; whilst the nett produce of such duties shall be for the use of the general treasury, and subject to the revision and control of congress.

 On

On surveying the nature of the government thus established in North America, it will appear, that the genuine spirit of the British constitution has been much diffused through that of America. The code of laws which this new state will adopt, is likely to partake no less of the principles of British jurisprudence, but it is to be hoped that it will be as much simplified, and divested of legal chicane and circuity as is consistent with the judicial preservation of freedom. It is highly gratifying to an Englishman, when viewing these interesting events, to reflect that not only the constitution and laws of his country will be thus perpetuated over a continent, which in future ages must be immensely populous, but that his language will be preserved so long as the world shall endure. In the late war, whilst the French officers served in America, many of them were solicitous to become acquainted with the language spoken in the country, and it was at that time no small mortification to the Americans to consider it as the language of their invaders: it became therefore common among them to call the English language "the American," and to say to such foreigners as spoke it, "you speak American well." "The American is not difficult to learn." The Marquis de Chastellux says that they carried their aversion to the language so far as seriously to propose introducing another language, which should be taught in schools and made use of in all public acts; but these resentful feelings have happily subsided.

The

The third congress was assembled in December 1793, when the illustrious George Washington was re-chosen president; nor was there another man in any degree qualified like him to fill that dignified and important station; yet it is much to be apprehended that such a re-election at the commencement of the constitution, may furnish a precedent which, in future times, shall prove very injurious to its original purity, as well as essential principle. Experience has fully proved, that elective offices, if not carefully guarded, are liable to be converted into tenures for life; and it may be deemed a discussion of much nicety, as well as importance, whether it had not been more advisable for the states to have lost the ostensible services of that great man, for the four succeeding years, rather than by reinstating him to lay a foundation for a destructive innovation in future times; and such a sacrifice of present advantage to futurity, would have utterly frustrated all attempts of ambitious men hereafter to gain the presidency for life.

RELIGION.] The spirit of toleration, which prevails in America in the fullest manner possible, has caused a vast diversity of sects to be settled on that continent; and led it to be called "the land of sectaries." In most of the New England provinces the Presbyterians and Independents are numerous, but in Connecticut the form of worship and ecclesiastical government of the church of England prevail. More to the southward the Quakers are extremely numerous,

numerous, and the Moravians are increasing and flourishing greatly. Methodism likewise spreads very wide; but it has been said by an extensive observer of the present prevailing manners in these states, that "the prevalent religion of the principal inhabitants of America, and particularly to the southward, is pure Deism; called by the name of philosophy in Europe. A spirit which has contributed in no small degree to the revolution, and produced their unfettered constitutions of freedom and toleration. *Chastellux' Travels, II.* 197. *Note.*

When the independence of the American States was acknowledged by the British government, it became necessary that the clergy who adhered to the discipline of the church of England should obtain ordination, and that all ecclesiastical affairs should be transacted without crossing the Atlantic, and applying to an English bishop: at length an act of parliament was passed in England, authorising the metropolitan to consecrate American bishops. These now ordain priests and deacons for the service of the church of England there, but have no revenues annexed to their sees, and are no otherwise distinguished from the body of the clergy than by pre-eminence of rank.

From the accounts published at Philadelphia by Mr. Tench Coxe (commissioner of the revenue there), and very lately reprinted in London, it appears, that Pennsylvania is by far the most thriving state in the union. The population of this state has

increased

increased considerably beyond the estimate made by Dr. Franklin, which supposed the inhabitants to double their numbers in the revolution of twenty years. The plenty of pit-coal in Pennsylvania, the same writer asserts, will very soon give it an immense advantage over all the interior country N. and E. of it, in which, though colder than Pennsylvania, it is not known that there is one coal mine open, or that there is any considerable appearance of that valuable fossil. Of the various manufactures of Pennsylvania Mr. Coxe gives a very particular enumeration; the political views of the American government is to foster and encourage, but not to force, manufactures. Breweries are carried on very successfully, and, in order to discourage the use of spirituous liquors, a low duty has been imposed upon them, which has been the means of introducing the excise laws into America. In three years, from the end of 1790 to the end of 1793, more public funds and private capitals have been applied to the improvement of roads and rivers, and the cutting of canals, than from the first settlement of the state to that time. The practice of making sugar from the sap or juice of the maple-tree had prevailed for many years in the northern and eastern states: in the year 1790 it became practised by the Pennsylvanians; the same tree is capable of being tapped without injury to its growth and vigour for many years, the process is simple and easy; and the proper season for it is between the middle of February

and the end of March. Mr. Coxe supposes that a sufficient quantity of sugar may be obtained from the maple-tree to answer the consumption of that article in the states of Pennsylvania and New York. Iron is abundant throughout the union, except in the Delaware state. Virginia is supposed to be the state most pregnant with minerals and fossils of any in the union.

THE END